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REMARKS

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION

AND

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

IN TWO PARTS.



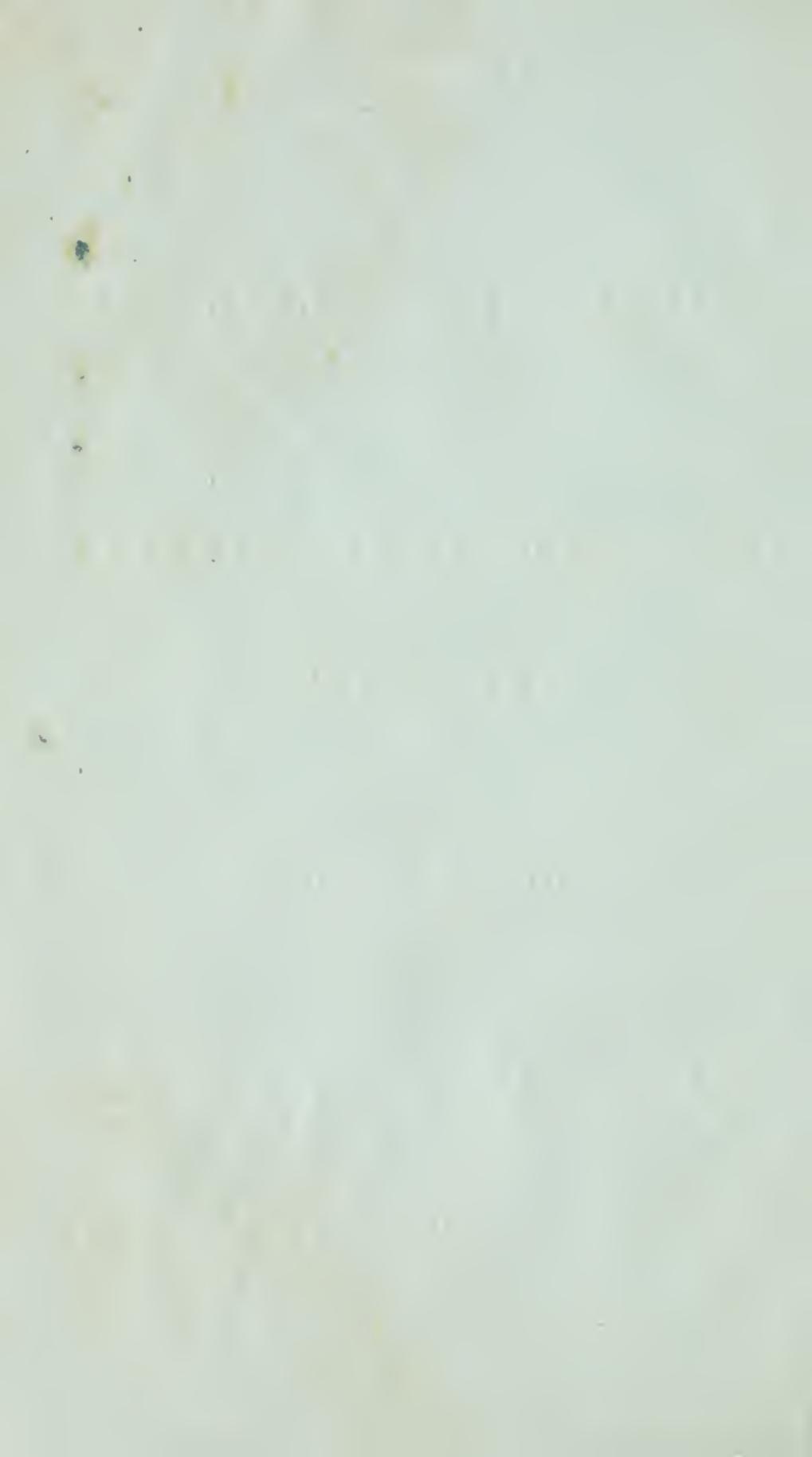
BY A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

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R E M A R K S

ON

AFRICAN COLONIZATION



AND

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

IN TWO PARTS.

BY A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

John Tracy

WINDSOR, VT.

PUBLISHED BY RICHARDS & TRACY.

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1833.

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TO THE READER.

In giving his *Remarks* to the public, the author is conscious of no other motive than a desire to advance the interests of truth, freedom and happiness. He has no pride of authorship or desire of notice to be gratified ; no pecuniary interest to be advanced ; and no feelings of unkindness towards those who dissent from his views, to be indulged by this publication. He has written, not with a view to satisfy the mere critic, or to escape his notice ; not to advance new theories, or present old ones in a new dress. It has been his object to write for plain, common-sense, matter-of-fact readers : to present plain truths, well-established facts, and common arguments, in a plain manner, and for a practical purpose. It is his earnest desire to see all the friends of humanity in this country act right—act vigorously—act in harmony, and in the best possible manner, for the relief and the elevation of the whole African race, whether bond or free. For the sentiments advanced in relation to African Colonization, the Colonization Society is not responsible, except for the extracts from its *official publications*, and the legitimate application of those extracts. If the author has mistaken or misapplied the principles or language of that Society, he alone is responsible. The same remark applies to the use made of other publications. Should any reader think that there is undue severity in the strictures on the publications, measures and sentiments referred to in the Introduction, and in Part II., he is requested to examine the whole subject without prejudice—to read those publications, and ponder well their spirit and tendency, and then state publicly and candidly in what the severity consists, and in what manner it might have been dispensed with. To the friends of humanity and justice, who have sympathy for the poor and oppressed African, the author cheerfully submits his views ; and to Him who hears the oppressed when they cry, he would commit both himself and his readers, with the earnest prayer that they may be guided by His SPIRIT in all their efforts to do good.

A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

April 11, 1833.

INTRODUCTION.

A few months since, a pamphlet of 236 pages fell into my hands, entitled "*Thoughts on African Colonization; or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles and purposes of the American Colonization Society, together with the Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the free people of color, by Wm. LLOYD GARRISON.*"

The object of the writer was to prove that "the Colonization Society is not hostile to slavery: That it "apologizes for slavery and slave-holders;"—"Recognizes slaves as property;"—"Increases the value of slaves;"—"Is the enemy of immediate Abolition;"—"Nourished by fear and selfishness;"—"Aims at the expulsion of the Blacks;"—"Disparages the Free Blacks;"—"Prevents the instruction of the Blacks;"—"Deceives and misleads the nation." The second part of the pamphlet, occupying 76 pages, consists of "Resolutions, Addresses and Remonstrances of the free people of color," showing that they are opposed to the Colonization Society.

For several years I had felt a deep interest in the welfare of the colored people, bond and free, and in every effort which seemed likely to aid in securing freedom and happiness to the whole race, or to any portion of it. I had been in favor of the Colonization Society, because, after a tolerably thorough examination, it seemed to promise more good to the whole African race than any other plan which had been proposed, and because it was *actually doing good* to a considerable portion. When this pamphlet appeared, I was disposed to examine it carefully, from the interest I felt in the colored race, in the Colonization Society, and in the Author of the pamphlet; having felt a sympathy for him when, from the confines of a prison, his touching poetry. "*The Freedom of the Mind,*" echoed through the land, and having supposed him a true friend of the Africans and sincerely devoted to their interests. I did not agree with him as to the manner of removing the evils we both deplored, or approve of his harsh language or rash measures. Many things which had appeared in his paper,* seemed peculiarly fitted to create jealousy and hostility between the colored people and the whites, and increase the alienation of feeling between the Northern and Southern sections of the country, and if generally countenanced, must be productive of serious injury. However sincere he might be, it seemed evident that he had more zeal than judgment, and must alter his course or fail of doing much good.

* *The Liberator.*

The pamphlet exhibits some talent and much labor, especially in collecting materials, and I felt assured that if the Colonization Society is a bad institution and “*deceives and misleads the nation,*” this would be proved beyond all controversy in the course of the 236 pages; especially as the author had previously brought very serious charges against the Society and assumed heavy responsibilities. He had declared that “the superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars: 1. *Persecution*; 2. *Falsehood*; 3. *Cowardice*; 4. *Infidelity.*”* “I shall be willing to stake my reputation upon it† for honesty, prudence, benevolence, truth and sagacity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust—then nothing is capable of demonstration—then let me be covered with confusion of face.”

Such declarations gave reason to expect that evidence the most full and decisive would be produced to sustain them, and led me to examine this evidence with more than usual care.

Having a large portion of the documents of the Society at hand, I was enabled to examine the extracts made from those in their connexion, and found it important to do so. The result of this examination was a full conviction,

1. That instead of an “*impartial exhibition,*” the pamphlet contains altogether a *partial* or *one-sided* view of the Colonization Society, exhibiting only its apparently objectionable features, and those strangely distorted.

2. That a large portion of the extracts made to support the charges, were not from the documents of the Society, but from newspapers, sermons, addresses, &c.

3. That a large portion of the extracts made from the documents of the Society do not appear in them as the sentiments of the Board of Managers. They are extracts from speeches, copied into “the Proceedings of the Society at the annual meeting,” from sermons or addresses published in different sections of the country, or from reviews and articles published in other periodicals, copied into the “Appendix to the Report,” or the African Repository, “not because every sentiment is approved” by the Managers or the Secretary, but because they have been willing to exhibit honestly the different sentiments of individuals, and leave the public to judge in view of the whole subject.

4. Many of the extracts are frequently interrupted thus * * * showing that something is left out. In examining these extracts as they stand in the publications of the Society, several of them will be seen to be unfairly made, parts being omitted which would essentially modify their meaning.

5. That some of the quotations are made by putting detached sentences together, so as to convey a different meaning from that intended by the writers. [See examples in the Christian Spectator, March 1833, pp. 153, 154.]

6. That several of the extracts contain language capable of being misinterpreted, especially when standing alone; and that inferences and comments relating to these are unfairly made.

* Liberator, July 9th, 1831.

† The pamphlet, which was then in contemplation.—L. b. July 30, 1831.

7. That although the Society may have had wrong arguments used in its favor; may have been patronized by some with wrong motives; although some may have had too high expectations of its success; although some of its best friends, or even its Board of Managers, may have made mistakes; still the charges against the Society *are not sustained* and *cannot be.*

8. That the entire reverse of nearly every charge can, by a similar license, be as fairly sustained as these; but neither view alone would be an "*impartial exhibition.*"

9. That with all the faults that can possibly be charged upon the Colonization Society with any show of truth, it is still the most promising means of benefiting the whole African race yet devised; and is entitled to the cordial support of all the people of these United States, and the approbation of all the friends of liberty throughout the world.

10. That a fair examination of the history and operations of the Society, will bring other minds to the same result.

11. That if the Author would give his pamphlet a calm, serious, prayerful re-examination; would consider the history, principles and operations of the Society; the character of those who formed it, and those who now conduct its affairs; as well as the great body of its patrons; would review his charges and the manner by which he has attempted to sustain them; he would "be covered with confusion of face" without any effort being made by others to refute his charges; and that although some who are glad of an excuse for doing nothing for a benevolent society, may thank the author for his attacks, yet benevolent men, who think and act for themselves, will not be long misled or embarrassed by them, and the Colonization Society has nothing to fear ultimately from such opposition.

12. That the pamphlet referred to, might do some good. It might excite attention, examination and discussion, which should develope more fully the principles of the Society, make them better understood, and their importance more deeply felt, and thus benefit the cause in New England. It might make some of the friends of Colonization more careful in their arguments and efforts, and lead to increased watchfulness and prudence in the management of the Society.

It might assist in removing the impression at the South, "that the people of New England are willing to insult and abuse them." It is well known that the author of the pamphlet is very obnoxious both to the friends and enemies of Colonization and Emancipation in the slave states. They have thought his language in relation to slave-holders slanderous, his treatment of them abusive, and his influence on the colored people peculiarly fitted to produce insurrections. Some of them have supposed that many in New England, and especially Colonizationists, were disposed to countenance such measures, secretly if not openly. His hostility to the Society, therefore, might convince the Southern people who have opposed it, that his movements and Colonization movements are not one and the same thing, and thus lead them to examine its merits.

13. That as the pamphlet was likely to do some good, although in a different way from that intended, therefore no reply to it was needed, and that no notice ought to be taken of it by the friends of Colonization. Although containing some truth with much error, the error was so palpable,

ble as to be easily detected by those acquainted with the history of the Society.

These were my sober convictions after a very thorough examination; and similar views I found were entertained by many editors,* clergymen, and others, who had examined the subject. After what has been said, it may seem strange that I should notice this pamphlet with so much formality. My apology is this:—

1. Many persons have not the publications of the society. Very few in New England have the Annual Reports or any documents which give its early history.

2. Few persons have time to examine the sixteen Reports and eight volumes of the African Repository, if they were accessible: consequently, they are not prepared to defend the society when attacked, and are in some danger of being misled.

3. It is now an easy matter for any one to collect materials from this pamphlet and the Liberator, and write newspaper articles accusing the Colonization Society, and its agents, of “deception” “falsehood” “propagating libels” “publishing gross fictions with a view to gull the weak and the ignorant” &c. and thus new articles are furnished for the Liberator, or copied from some paper that is willing to publish them. In the same manner it is easy to prepare addresses on the subject of slavery, spiced with a good degree of ridicule and sarcasm for Colonizationists; get admitted to lyceums and debating societies, and in some instances even to churches, under the apparent sanction of ministers; create a temporary excitement, and then boast of their success, their converts and contributions; challenge the whole world to refute their arguments, and then, if no one notice them, to cry victory, and throw out more insulting challenges.†

* “Since commencing the agency, I have conversed with the editors of between 90 and 100 papers and periodicals in Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the city of New York. Of these editors, I found but four who expressed opposition to our Society.” *** I have conversed individually or in small circles with more than three hundred clergymen, of different denominations: only three of whom manifested hostility to the Society. A small number of others had not examined the history or claims of the Society sufficiently to express a decided opinion. A few others expressed some doubts, occasioned by the charges brought against the Society by Mr. Garrison, and other agents of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Not having the publications of the Colonization Society, or any means of examining in their proper connexion, the extracts made to support these charges, they felt a temporary embarrassment. A much larger number, who had been in the same unsettled state from the same cause, stated that by examining the publications and the actual influence of the Society, they had become convinced that the charges brought against it are not sustained. Some of this class complained of having been reported as opposed to the Colonization Society.” [Letter of an Agent to Rev. J. N. Danforth.]—*American Traveller, Dec. 1832.*

† Witness the following specimens.

“ By a Presbyterian Clergyman.

[For the Liberator.]

TO MR. DANFORTH, AGENT FOR THE SLAVE-DRIVERS.

A citizen with a little ‘brains and blood,’ who wishes to help those who are ‘tugging to pull down slavery,’ offers to meet you in open debate in Boston, and maintain against your negative, the truth of this proposition—‘EVERY LIVING AMERICAN SLAVE-HOLDER IS A KIDNAPPER.’

The Editor of the Liberator is authorized to make the necessary arrangements, so that you may exhibit all your ‘blood and brains,’ in ‘tugging’ to prop up slavery.

ONE WHO HAS RIGHTS.”

Liberator, Feb. 16, 1833.

“ Another challenge, Mr. Danforth!—from a source, too, eminently entitled to your notice. Are you ready?

[For the Liberator.]

TO REV. MR. DANFORTH, PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER.

As you are manifestly afraid to face ‘ONE WHO HAS RIGHTS,’ and prove that ‘every American Slave-holder is not a Kidnapper,’—I hereby offer to meet you in open debate in Boston, and

4. The New England Anti-slavery Society has adopted this pamphlet for distribution, and its agents and managers are actively opposing the Colonization Society in this country, and sending their publications to England, thus furnishing materials which some of the British Reviewers and editors seem much inclined to use in slandering this country.

5. My object in noticing this pamphlet is not to reply to the charges, or hold a controversy with its author, or any one who agrees with him, adopts his style and imitates his spirit.* It is my design

I. To give a brief view of the history and operations of the Colonization Society, develope its character and principles, and give some reasons for sustaining it.

II. To furnish a similar view of the New England Ant-slavery Society, express my own views in relation to the objects proposed in its Constitution, and state the reasons why I cannot co-operate with the Society.

maintain against your negative the following proposition:—**EVERY SLAVE-HOLDER WHO PROFFESSES TO BE A CHRISTIAN, BY WHATEVER NAME HE IS CALLED, OR WHATEVER OFFICE HE HOLDS IN THE CHURCH, IS A HYPOCRITE.**

The Editor of the Liberator is authorized to make the necessary arrangements—if you choose to confront

WATCHMAN.”
Liberator, Feb. 22, 1833.

* The unfairness and misrepresentation of the pamphlet have been partially exposed in the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review, for January, African Repository for January, and the Christian Spectator for March. Also in several numbers of the Christian Mirror, (Portland, Me.) and in late numbers of the Vermont Chronicle.



PART I.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. AFRICAN REPOSITORY. *Review on African Colonization*: Christian Spectator, Sept. 1830. *Letters on the Colonization Society, with a view of its probable results*: addressed to the Hon. C. F. MERCER. By M. CAREY, 1832. *American Colonization Society*, N. A. Review, July 1832, ART. VII. *Slavery Question in Virginia*, American Quarterly Review, Dec. 1832. *Colonization Society*, Christian Examiner, Sept. 1832, and Jan. 1833.

From the first introduction of slaves into the United States and the West Indies, there have been multitudes to bear testimony against the system of slavery, and weep for the misery occasioned by it. Some have given proof of their sincerity by their skill in devising, and their zeal, energy, perseverance and self denial in prosecuting plans for abolishing the abominable traffic in human flesh, and for relieving the misery of the slaves, and of the free people of color. The names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others, who were "shoulder to shoulder" with them in the great conflict for the abolition of the slave trade, will be held in grateful remembrance, when the names of many heroes and conquerors, whom history has immortalized, shall have become odious.

Many individuals have manifested a praise-worthy zeal, both before and since the abolition of the slave-trade, in their efforts to emancipate and elevate the enslaved Africans; while great multitudes have slumbered with indifference over their misfortunes, or passed them by in despair, as if there were no remedy.

"In consequence of the memorable decision of the English Judiciary, in the case of Somerset, that slavery could not exist upon the soil of England, several hundred blacks, unaccustomed to the profitable employments of a great city, were thrown upon their resources in the streets of London. The celebrated Granville Sharp having taken a peculiarly prominent part in the whole affair of the slave question, they flocked to him as their patron; and he, after much reflection, determined to colonize them in Africa."**

Here was the origin of the Sierra Leone Colony. In 1787, four hundred negroes and sixty Europeans were sent thither at the expense of the British government. In 1789, thirty-nine more were sent out. In 1791, about 1200 emigrants from Nova Scotia were induced to join the colony by the influence of the venerable Clarkson. These were originally refugees from this country, who had placed themselves under British pro-

tection.* The Maroons^f from Jamaica were introduced about the year 1805. Since the abolition in 1808, large numbers have joined the colony who were liberated from slave ships. In 1823, the colony contained about 18000 inhabitants, of whom, 12000 were liberated Africans. In 1828, the number of this class was more than 15000. Two thousand four hundred and fifty-eight liberated captives were added to the colony, during the year 1827 alone.†

While the leading abolitionists in Great Britain were thus providing an asylum for the liberated Africans, the attention of great and good men in the United States was turned to the same subject. They saw that many who had been liberated were ignorant, without employment, destitute of the means and motives necessary to elevate men, and, consequently, exposed to temptation, suffering and crime. Even before the commencement of the Sierra Leone colony, as early as 1777, Mr. Jefferson had formed a plan of colonizing the free people of color; but the distracted state of the country occasioned by the war, or other causes, prevented its development.

In the year 1787, Dr. Thornton, of Washington, “proposed the subject of the colonization of the people of color on the coast of Africa to the people of Boston, and Providence, (Rhode Island.) Many were disposed to accompany him to Africa, but the want of funds prevented the experiment. In 1789, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote to Granville Sharp, to ascertain the situation of the colony at Sierra Leone, and especially, whether the blacks of New England “might have any part of the colonial lands to settle on, and on what terms.”

In the American Museum, is an article, dated March 6, 1790, attributed to Ferdinando Fairfax, in which “it is proposed, that a colony should be settled under the auspices and protection of Congress, by the negroes now within the United States, and be composed of those who are already, as well as those who at any time hereafter, may become liberated by the voluntary consent of their owners,” &c.

About the year 1800 or 1801, the Legislature of Virginia instructed Mr. Monroe, then Governor of the State, to endeavor, through the agency of President Jefferson, to secure “an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as had been, or might be, emancipated under the laws of the commonwealth.” An effort was made to obtain a territory, first in Africa, from the Sierra Leone Company, and afterwards in South America, from the government of Portugal. Both attempts were unsuccessful. In 1811, Mr. Jefferson, in reply to inquiries relative to Colonization, wrote as follows: “Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure which could be adopted for drawing off this part of our population,—“most advantageous to themselves, as well as us.”

Again, “Indeed nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.”

* North American Review, July, 1832, p. 120. † A name given to a large number of Negroes, originally slaves in Jamaica, who availed themselves of a Revolution in that Island to take refuge among the mountains of the interior, and have never since been subdued. Ib. p. 121. ‡ Ib.

In 1816, the legislature of Virginia again passed a resolve,* requesting the Executive to take measures for procuring “*an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, AND MAY DESIRE IT*, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth,” &c.

By this time, the experiment at Sierra Leone, notwithstanding all its embarrassments, had demonstrated that the plan of Colonization is practicable: the views of individuals, far separated from each other by distance and circumstances, began to be understood; and there was sufficient evidence that a noble plan for benefiting the African race *might be carried forward*, to enlist the energies of the Rev. Robert Finley, of Basking Ridge, N. J., draw out his views and feelings relating to the interests of the free blacks, and urge him forward to be the pioneer of the enterprize to be commenced for their benefit.

“A concurrent movement towards the adoption of some particular plan of operations was distinctly concerted in March 1816, at Georgetown, D. C., between a resident of that place and several citizens of the two neighboring states. This was without the knowledge or participation of any individual living north of Maryland. But in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn, the discussion became more general and excited considerable interest in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Princeton, and other principal places in that section of the country. Still Mr. Finley seems rather to have led public opinion, for while others were only talking and thinking, *he was devoting himself wholly to the cause*. After having reflected deliberately on the proper place, time and manner of commencing the long contemplated movement—and the propriety of doing *something* had scarcely been disputed at all—he resolved to test the popularity, and in some degree the practicability of his own plan, by introducing the subject to public notice at Washington. He arrived at that city about the first of December, 1816, and began to make arrangements for a meeting of the citizens. Many ridiculed, and some opposed him; but meekly contenting himself with the observation, ‘I know this scheme is from God,’ he persevered and prevailed. The Society was organized on the first of January, 1817.”†

The second article of the constitution defines the object of the society, and is in the following language:—

“The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, (with their consent) the free people of color residing in this country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government and such of the States as may adopt resolutions on the subject.”

It would seem impossible that any opposition could with propriety be made to the Society, especially as it “has uniformly acted in pursuance of these clearly declared principles, to the exclusion of all others.”‡

But probably no other Society has ever triumphed over opposition so various, or obstacles so numerous. At the first annual meeting it was stated by the President, that “an effort has unfortunately been made to prejudice the minds of the free people of color against the institution, *which had its origin, it is believed, in an honest desire to promote their happiness*. A suggestion has been made to them *which this Society disclaims by the terms of its Constitution*, that they are to be constrained to migrate to the country which may be selected for the seat of our colony. *No suspicion can be more unfounded. It is sanctioned by no decla-*

* This was the first *public* act of Virginia in relation to this subject. The former measures were in secret session, as the time had not arrived when any measure having even an indirect bearing in favor of emancipation, could be publicly discussed in Virginia.

† N. A. R. July 1832 p. 126. † Ib p. 127. § After quoting this identical article of the Constitution, Mr. Garrison cites above fifty extracts which he says “abundantly sustain the charge that the Society has not swerved from its original design” &c.—[Thoughts on African Col. p. 42, etc.]

rations or acts of the Society, from which alone our intentions can be candidly inferred.*

Then the Society was opposed as “*an invention of the slave-holder to remove the free blacks, that he might hold his slaves more securely in bondage.*” This accusation seemed quite plausible to northern men, especially when it was said that “it originated in a slave state. The *Virginia Legislature* had passed resolves in favor of colonizing the free blacks so early as 1801, and shocking to relate, “*it was done in secret session!*” And moreover “the President himself was a **SLAVE HOLDER.**” These circumstances, to many minds, *were proof positive* that the Colonization Society was a monstrosity, “designed to perpetuate slavery.” When this charge was disavowed and disproved, and it was seen that its founders and managers did hope and believe that the moral influence of the Society would tend to voluntary emancipation, Northern men began to examine and approve its plans; but before the obstacles created by this objection were removed, opposition sprang up at the South, denouncing the Society as “a northern scheme to interfere with their rights,” “rob them of their property,” “deluge the land in blood,” &c. or in other words, “to get away their slaves, or encourage among them insubordination and insurrection.” This charge was also denied and disproved, and the two objections, to some extent, served to destroy each other. Still there are a few in New England who oppose the Society because they say it tends to perpetuate slavery, while those who are for perpetuating slavery at the South, oppose it “because it tends to emancipation.”

The society was opposed and ridiculed as “a visionary scheme which could accomplish nothing.” Some opposed and multitudes neglected it because it would cost *money*. This, with many, was objection enough.

Many would do nothing to aid the Society, because it was for the benefit of the colored people. Some were willing to consign them to perpetual servitude, ignorance, and debasement, and others thought that they *could not be elevated*.

For a time, it was difficult to decide on the place for planting a colony. Some were in favor of Africa; some of Hayti; some of Canada; some of South America or Mexico; while others would have the colony beyond the Rocky mountains, or within the territory of the United States. When it was decided to make the experiment on the African coast, some believed the colonists could not endure the climate, or that they could not be there protected, governed, or elevated. It was stigmatized as a “wild scheme for sending miserable, degraded beings, from a Christian to a barbarous country, to be civilized and Christianized;” and what was still more absurd, “to文明 a whole continent of kidnappers and slave dealers.”

A great preliminary work was to be performed, before a colony could be planted.

In this country, information must be circulated; the condition of the colored people be understood; facts and arguments must arouse the attention and interest of the community; ignorance and prejudice must be enlightened and overcome, and funds be collected. Then the coast of Africa must be surveyed; territory purchased; the favor of the natives

* Speech of Judge Washington. First Annual Report.

secured; the best location selected and fitted for receiving emigrants. Numerous obstacles retarded the acquisition of territory: the natives were jealous of white men, judging of their character, doubtless, from the specimens they had been acquainted with in the slave trade.

Some of the native chiefs were in favor of selling territory to be occupied by colored people from America, but others were strongly opposed to it. They could not see why such a colony should be planted there, and were fearful it would interfere with the slave trade, or in some way affect their interest.

In 1820 a number of emigrants went out, but "they found it impossible to obtain a suitable place, and were compelled, by a variety of untoward circumstances, to make a temporary establishment in the low, unhealthy island of Sherbro. Here they were detained for some time, endeavoring to purchase land—and were attacked by fatal diseases, which carried off three agents and twenty of the colonists."* Several other emigrants went out in 1821, but their prospects were truly discouraging, till an extensive territory was purchased on the coast, and the colony removed to Cape Montserado. In 1822, Mr. Ashmun went out to the colony with a small band of emigrants, and found those who had previously gone out, in a wretched condition. They had suffered much from sickness, the want of medical aid, of suitable dwellings, and those comforts and conveniences necessary to the enjoyment of life and health. The health of the agent had failed, and he had sailed for the United States, leaving the colonists defenceless, and, as it afterwards appeared, upon the verge of destruction. Soon after Mr. Ashmun's arrival, he discovered an extensive plot among the native tribes, to destroy the colony. Although they had fairly sold the territory, and consented to its settlement, they were either "sick of their bargain," or thirsting for plunder, and had proved treacherous. Finding it impossible to reconcile them or prevent an attack, Mr. Ashmun made the best possible preparation, and with but a handful of men defended the colony from two violent attacks of several hundred armed natives, and secured a permanent peace. Since that time, the Society has been gaining strength, and, notwithstanding all the obstacles which have opposed its progress, the colony has grown and prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations of its more intelligent friends.

The following table, it is believed, exhibits the number of emigrants.

Previous to May 1823, . . . 225.	In 1828, . . . 295.
In 1824, . . . 105.	1829, . . . 160.
1825, . . . 66.	1830, . . . 406.
1826, . . . 288.	1831, . . . 445.
1827, . . . 238.	1832, . . . 790.

More than 700 of the emigrants were slaves, manumitted for the purpose of removal to Liberia. Two hundred forty-seven of this class were sent out the last year, and one hundred eighty-nine near the close of 1831.

The territory of the colony extends along the coast about 280 miles, and into the interior from 20 to 30 miles, and in some places to a greater distance. It is believed that additional lands may be purchased at a low price, to any desirable extent.† The soil, animal and vegetable produc-

* Mr. Carey's Letters.

† Additional purchases have been made during the last year, and two new settlements, one at Grand Bassa, and one at Grand Cape Mount, are about being made.

tions, and the commercial advantages of this country, are such as to render it capable of sustaining a large population.

" During the year preceding the first of May last, 59 vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, of which 32 were American, 25 English and 2 French. The exports during the same period (consisting chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm-oil, tortoise-shell and gold) amounted to \$125,549 16; of imports to \$80,000."*

The climate is now believed to be favorable to people of color. "The natives on the coast are remarkably healthy, and so are the acclimated emigrants."† In the early history of the colony, although there was much sickness, the mortality was trifling, compared with that in the first colonies of this country, and the colony of Sierra Leone. "The colony which settled at James Town was at one time reduced from 500 to 60 persons."† "In twelve years after £85,000 had been expended by the Virginia Company, only 600 persons remained in the colony."† "In 1634, after £150,000 had been expended, and more than 9,000 persons had emigrated to the colonies, only 1,800 remained."† "Of 1,600 persons who came out with John Winthrop in 1630, 200 died in six months."† At Sierra Leone, "the intemperance and impiudence of the emigrants brought on a mortality which reduced their numbers nearly one half, during the first year."† After the 1200 refugees from Nova Scotia had removed to Sierra Leone, "one-tenth of the Nova-Scotians and half of the Europeans died during one season, as much from want of provisions as from any other cause."† No mortality like this has visited the colony at Liberia. The colonists say: "We enjoy health after a few months residence in the country, as uniformly, and in as perfect a degree, as we possessed that blessing in our native country. And a distressing scarcity of provisions, or any of the comforts of life, has for the last two years been entirely unknown, even to the poorest person in this community. On these points, there are and have been much misconception, and some malicious misrepresentations, in the U. States. * * * The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long-lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in cases of old people and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses—the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers—their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and almost forgotten. Our houses and circumstances are now comfortable; and, for the last two or three years, not one person in forty from the Middle and Southern States, has died from the change of climate."§ Two colored men, who went to Liberia during the last summer, and spent nearly three weeks in examining the condition and prospects of the different settlements, thus speak on the sub-

* Sixteenth Report, p. 6.

† N. A. Review, July, 1832, p. 120.

† M. Carey's Letters.

§ Address of the Colonists, 13th Rep. p. 35.

ject:—"Wherever we went, the people appeared to enjoy good health: and a more healthy looking people, particularly the children, we have not seen in the United States. We were there in what is called the rainy season, (although it rained hard but once for about half an hour, during the whole three weeks of our visit,) and instead of the heat being oppressive, we had constantly a fine breeze, and the air was as cool as it is at Natchez about the last of September.

"We ought to say, that our voyage was very pleasant, and nearly all those who sailed with us from Norfolk, (158) appeared to enjoy themselves well. Just before our arrival at the colony, a few were taken sick, and two children (one an infant) died soon after they were landed. Our own health while in the colony was perfectly good, although we were much exposed to night air."*

The government of the colony is essentially republican. The laws are similar to those of the United States, and have, thus far, secured the good order and prosperity of the colony. The "Constitution for the government of the African Colony in Liberia," may be seen in the Appendix to the 13th Annual Report, and a Digest of the laws in the Appendix to the 12th Report, p. 38.

In relation to government, the Colonists say, "Our Constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, 'all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the free citizens of the United States,' and these rights and privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions, have their due weight in the Government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own: they grow out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our appointment, or such as possess our entire confidence. We have a Judiciary, chosen from among ourselves: we serve as jurors in the trial of others; and are liable to be tried only by juries of our fellow citizens ourselves."†

The cause of education‡ in the colony has ever been regarded by the Board of Managers as one of great importance; and efforts have been made from year to year, to sustain public schools suited to the wants of the people. At some periods, it has been impossible to do this for want of suitable teachers, but recent reports exhibit evidence of the prosperity of the schools. Messrs. Simpson and Moore say, "There are five schools, two of which we visited, and were much pleased with the teachers, and the improvement of the children.§

Three public schools in Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburgh have more than 200 scholars.|| Governor Mechlin says, "I am happy to have it in my power to state that the condition of our public schools is highly prosperous; this will be demonstrated by the enclosed semi-annual statements. The female schools at Monrovia and Caldwell are conducted in a manner highly creditable to Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Cæsar, who have them in charge. The beneficial results of our present school

* Letter from Messrs. Simpson and Moore, African Repository, October, 1832.

† Address of the Colonists to the free people of color in the United States. Appendix to 13 Ann. Rep., p. 31.

‡ See article S. N. A. Review, Jan. 1825, in which is a letter from Gen. Harper.

§ See Reports of schools, African Repository, Dec 1832.

|| Ib. p. 300. See also system of Education for the Colony in the Repository for Nov.

regulations are daily becoming more apparent, and I have great hopes that the principal obstacle to the more general application of the system, viz. the want of funds, will be removed by the alteration in our revenue law, received by the last arrival; and should our imports for the coming, equal those of the past year, there will be revenue sufficient, I trust, to defray the expense of supporting a school among our re-captured Africans, who are still very earnest in their solicitations that the benefits of education should be extended to themselves and their children."*

The moral and religious state of the colony is represented as highly interesting. The colonists say, "We have all that is meant by *liberty of conscience*. The time and mode of worshiping God as prescribed in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.†

"As to the morals of the Colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States; that is, *you may take an equal number of the inhabitants from any section of the Union*, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and Sabbath-breakers, &c. than in Liberia. Indeed, I know of no country where things are conducted more quietly and orderly, than in this colony. You rarely hear an oath, and as to riots and breaches of the peace, I recollect of but one instance, and that of a trifling nature, that has come under my notice since I assumed the government of the colony. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States. Our Sunday schools are well attended, not only by the children of the colonists, but also by the native children who reside amongst us."—*Letter of Governor Mechlin. M. Carey's letters, p. 24.*

Capt. Abels, of the schooner Magaret Mercer, who had spent 13 days in Liberia in free intercourse with the people, under date of Feb. 10, 1832, writes, "All the colonists appear to be in good health. All my expectations in regard to the aspect of things, the health, harmony, order, contentment, industry and general prosperity of the settlers, were more than realized. * * * * Among all that I conversed with, I did not find one discontented person, or hear one express a desire to return to America. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. * * * I know of no place where the Sabbath appears to me, more respected, than in Monrovia. I was glad to see that the Colonial Agent, or Governor, is a constant attendant on divine service, and desirous of promoting the moral and religious welfare of the people. Most of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property, and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and their children, in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world. Could the free people of color in this country but see the real condition of their brethren who have settled in Africa, I am persuaded they would require no other motive to induce them to emigrate. This is my decided judgment."

The following is the testimony of Messrs. Simpson and Moore. "We noticed, particularly, the moral state of things, and during our visit, saw but one man who appeared to be intemperate, and but two who used any profane language. We think the settlers more moral, as a people, than the citizens of the United States. The Sabbath is very strictly observed, and there is great attention to the things of religion. We attended church several times, and one of us, being a minister of the gospel, of the Methodist church, preached three times to large and very attentive

* Reports of schools. Afr. Repository, Dec. 1832.

† Address of the colonists in 1827.

congregations. There must have been from three to four hundred at each religious service ; all well dressed and apparently respectable persons."

The commercial intercourse of the colony with the native tribes is extending, and the latter manifest an increasing desire to imitate the manners and customs of the former. Some are very anxious to have introduced among them mills, agricultural establishments, trading-houses, schools and missionaries, that they may know and enjoy the blessings which civilization and Christianity can confer ; and probably a broader field for commercial enterprize, and for intellectual, moral and religious cultivation than Africa presents, at this moment, does not exist in any heathen country. The eyes of the civilized world are turned to that continent with new and intense interest, since the recent discovery of the long sought termination of the river Niger has opened to their gaze a vast extent of territory in the interior, with a fertile soil, abounding with tropical productions and occupied by a great population, on which commerce, civilization and Christianity may test their noblest experiments. And who does not see that colonies like that of Liberia, must afford the best facilities for trying these experiments ? But more of this in the sequel.

To one who is accustomed to weep for human suffering, and rejoice in the progress of efforts for relieving it, and especially to the friend of the African, the history of the Liberian colony, with its present condition and prospects, must be full of interest ; and he will watch with equal interest the progress of public sentiment and action in its behalf. It is peculiarly gratifying to find that many distinguished men, who at first opposed or neglected the Society, have become its warm friends and generous patrons. Nearly fifty subscriptions of \$100 annually for ten years, on the plan of Gerrit Smith, have been pledged, and the funds of the Society are increasing from year to year.* A great and favorable change has been wrought in public sentiment. The legislatures of more than half the States, including New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, have passed resolutions in favor of the Society. And "nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have, by resolutions, firmly expressed their opinion that *the Society merits the consideration and favor of the whole Christian community, and earnestly recommend it to their patronage.*"† The Society and the colony have become known in Great Britain. Donations amounting to several hundred pounds‡ have already been received, and distinguished individuals have expressed their deep interest in the prosperity of the enterprize. The *Society of Friends in London* have authorized their brethren in North Carolina to draw on them to the amount of \$2000, to aid in the colonization of the colored people under their care. An eminent friend of Africa, John Mortlock, Esq. has offered to give £500 to the Society, provided nine others will do the same.§ An interesting and favorable account of the colony has been published in the *Amulet*, a British publication, for 1832, in an Essay on the slave trade, which is said to be "extracted principally from the journal of a gallant

* Receipts of the last year exceed those of any former one by more than \$10,000.

† Appendix to the 15th Annual Report, p. 43. ‡ African Repos. Vol. 8, p. 345. § Ib.

and distinguished naval officer, who passed three years on the African coast, from which he had just returned."

The venerable Thomas Clarkson, in a letter to the agent, declares, "For myself, I am free to say, that of all things that have been going on in our favor since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, that which is going on in the United States is the most important.* Mr. Wilberforce declares, "You have gladdened my heart, by convincing me that, sanguine as had been my hopes of the happy effects to be produced by your Institution, all my anticipations are scanty and cold compared with the reality. This may truly be deemed a pledge of the divine favor, and believe me, no Briton—I had almost said no American, can take a livelier interest than myself, in your true greatness and glory."†

The question may well arise, why should any one oppose the Colonization Society, or refuse to pray for its prosperity and aid its efforts? If a benevolent man can do this, it must be because he believes either its *object* or its *tendency* to be wrong. Doubtless some persons mistake both. In the Third Annual Report‡ the managers say: "It is believed that a comprehensive answer to most if not all of the objections to the Society would be furnished by simply repeating *what it is* that the Society proposes to do. They propose, then, in the language of the Virginia resolution, to procure a suitable territory on the coast of Africa for *such of the free people of color as may choose to avail themselves of this asylum: and for such slaves as their proprietors may please to emancipate*; and they purpose, moreover, to furnish the means of transporting the emigrants to Africa, or to enlarge the means which they may themselves provide. *They do not therefore intend, and they have not the inclination, if they possessed the power, to constrain the departure of any freemen of color from America, or to coerce any proprietor to emancipate his slaves.*" What possible objection can there be to this? If the free people of color, or a part of them, wish to go to Africa, it is right they should do so. If they need assistance, they ought to have it. If masters desire to emancipate their slaves, and yet are prevented either by law or by a regard to their own safety, or the welfare of their slaves, from doing so, till they can be placed in circumstances of comfort, why should not an asylum be provided, and the means furnished for sending them to it? If the Society is objected to because it does not educate the free blacks in this country, or because it does not liberate and elevate the slave here, it is a sufficient answer to these objections, that *the Society was formed to accomplish ANOTHER object, to WHICH ITS ATTENTION IS TO BE EXCLUSIVELY DIRECTED.*"‡ We might as well object to the Bible Society, or to the Tract or Temperance Society, because each pursues its own object, and does not turn aside to abolish slavery or educate the free blacks.

But it may be said, that we must look at the actual *tendency* of the Society, as well as its professed object. This is admitted. It is also admitted that the *Colonization Society of necessity exerts some influence on the system of slavery.* This has never been doubted. It is farther admitted, that if this influence tends to perpetuate slavery, its character and influence ought to be changed, or the Society abandoned. However beneficial the Society might be to the free blacks, to this country, or to

* Fifteenth Report, pp. 14, 15.

† Ib. pp. 21, 22.

‡ Constitution.

Africa, I could not plead its cause if UNIVERSAL emancipation was thereby rendered more hopeless.

What then is the influence of this Society on slavery?

To answer this question, we must examine its history, the views of its founders and managers, and such facts as we can collect from other sources.

Emancipation, to some extent, had taken place long before the Society was formed; but the experiments thus made, convinced many of the Southern people that emancipation, under existing circumstances, was unsafe and injurious to the slaves, their masters, and those made free. Mr. Clay stated, at the first Annual Meeting of the Society, that "several of the states had, and perhaps all of them would, prohibit entirely emancipation, unless some such outlet was created. A sense of their own safety required the painful prohibition. Experience proved that persons turned loose, who were neither freemen nor slaves, constituted a great moral evil, threatening to contaminate all parts of society."*

At the same meeting, Hon. C. F. Mercer said, "Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, as you and I are, by the melancholy conviction, that they cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity without injury to their country."*

Public sentiment, and the laws which grew out of it, were thus operating to prevent emancipation; and those who formed the Colonization Society saw clearly that, unless some plan could be devised and carried into effect, which should convince the Southern planters that slaves can be liberated with benefit to themselves and safety to their masters, emancipation must cease. To attempt immediate emancipation without Colonization, would be like the attempt to stay the tornado, beat back the current of a mighty river, or rather like the attempt to quench the flames with materials highly combustible. Abolition societies could not press emancipation much farther, for experiments already made were operating to prevent it. The plan of the Colonization Society, therefore, was the best one which the united wisdom of the friends of the colored race, who understood the difficulties of the case, could devise. The simple principle of its Constitution was the only one on which the Society could act to any purpose. On this ground the North and the South could meet; and while acting within its proper sphere, neither party could reasonably object to it. The successful operation of the Society would enable the slaveholder to liberate his slaves in a manner beneficial to themselves, and consistent with the laws of the States, and without injury to any one. The slaveholder who would perpetuate the system had no right to oppose the Society. It would not 'coerce any proprietor to emancipate'—would not 'interfere with the rights' secured to him by law, and would not 'promote insurrection and insubordination among the slaves.'

If the North and the South could be brought to examine this subject calmly, and interchange their views and feelings, they would at length act in concert, and in the best manner, for the removal of evils which both deplored, and from which both suffered, but which neither could remove alone.

If the Society were formed wholly of Northern men, the South would

* First Annual Report.
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not cooperate, but would oppose it as officious interference, and an infringement of their rights. Besides, if all were Northern men, they would be liable to act without a due regard to existing circumstances at the South—to the laws of the several States, and the Constitution of the Union. They would be likely to excite jealousy and create alienation, which would result in a dissolution of the Union. On the other hand, if the Society were composed only of Slave-holders, the North would not cooperate, but would regard it as a selfish scheme to perpetuate slavery. There would be danger of their being governed too much by their own interests, of pursuing offensive measures, which would excite the indignation and interference of the North, and thus promote disunion.

An union of Northern and Southern men was therefore necessary. This would lead to a discussion of the subject in all parts of the country—would draw attention to the whole colored race—excite sympathy in their behalf, and lead to measures for their relief, in which all parties could unite. If the colony should succeed, it would be a desirable home for those who should go thither. New circumstances and motives might develope talents and form characters, which should convince all men, that Africans can be cultivated like other men,—show how slaves may be liberated and elevated, and lead slaves to desire and masters to grant emancipation.

All these views might have entered the minds of the founders of the Society. There is abundant evidence that some of the founders did believe the moral influence of the society would tend to voluntary emancipation, and that the Board of Managers have ever entertained this belief.

At the first annual meeting, John Randolph, after saying that “The measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property,” added, ‘That “if a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them thence, there were hundreds, nay, thousands, who would, by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession”! Mr. Clay said, “Let the Colony once be successfully planted, and legislative bodies who have been grieved at the necessity of passing those prohibitory laws,* which at a distance might appear to stain our codes, will hasten to remove the impediments to the exercise of benevolence and humanity.” Judge Washington, the president of the Society, said at the same meeting:—“The effect of this institution, if its prosperity shall equal our wishes, will be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society, and should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them, and in the palliation of which we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction.” General R. G. Harper, one of the Vice Presidents, in a letter to the Secretary, says:—“It tends, and may powerfully tend, to rid us gradually and entirely, in the United States, of slaves and slavery; a great moral and political evil, of increasing virulence and extent, from which much mischief is now felt, and very great calamity in future is justly apprehended. It is in this point of view, I confess, that your scheme of Colonization MOST STRONGLY RECOMMENDS ITSELF, in my opinion, to

* Laws forbidding emancipation.

attention and support." All these sentiments were publicly expressed by the leading members of the society, at or before the first annual meeting, and published in the first report. After quoting them in the third report,* the Managers remark:—"From the preceding extracts from the first annual report of the American Colonization Society, the public may decide whether the charge be as true, as it has been gravely affirmed, that, 'In the Constitution and proceedings of the American Colonization Society, or in the avowed sentiments of its members, there can be discerned nothing friendly to the abolition of slavery in the United States.' " In the second report,† the Managers say:—"It [the society] has been suggested to be an invention of the southern proprietor to rivet the chains of servitude upon the slaves; as if the circumstances which accompanied the origin of the Society, the character of its members, and their solemn and reiterated declarations, did not forbid so unfounded an imputation. It would not be more uncandid to ascribe to them a design to invade the rights of private property, secured by the constitution and laws of the several slave holding states, and proclaim universal emancipation." At the ninth annual meeting, the following resolution was adopted:—"Resolved, That the Society *disclaims*, in the most unqualified terms, the *designs* attributed to it, of interfering, on the one hand, with the legal rights and obligations of slavery, and on the other, of *perpetuating its existence* within the limits of this country."‡ At the eleventh annual meeting were the following remarks:—"It has been said that this society was an invasion of the rights of slave holders. Sir, if it is an invasion, it comes not from without. It is an irruption of liberality, and threatens *only that freemen will overrun our southern country*—that the soil will be fertilized by the sweat of **FREEMEN ALONE**, and what are now deserts, will flourish and blossom under the influence of enterprise and industry. * * * * Yes! kings might be proud of the effects which this Society will have produced. Far more glorious than all their conquests would ours be, for it would be the triumph of **FREEDOM over SLAVERY**—of *liberality over prejudice, and of humanity over the vice and wretchedness which ever wait on ignorance and servitude.*"§

At the 14th Annual Meeting, it was said by one who is now a Vice President, and pays \$100 a year to the Society:—"We admit that in this way, that is, through the renovation of Africa, the Colonization Society may exert an important influence on the question of Slavery,—an influence which may yet compass the abolition of Slavery in our land. But, mark you, Sir, it is a way that leads through a change—through the willingness of the master's mind, and therefore he cannot object to it. Whilst the society protest, that it has no designs on the rights of the master in the Slave, or the property in the Slave, which the laws guarantee to him; it does nevertheless admit, and joyfully admit, that the successful prosecution of the object of the Society, *must produce moral influences, and moral changes, leading to the voluntary emancipation of the Slave, not only in our country but throughout the world.*"||

In the Appendix to the 14th Report,† is an article copied from the African Repository, which the managers say develops "the true prin-

* See pp 95, 99.

† P. 9.

‡ Ninth Report.

§ Proceedings at annual meeting, eleventh report, pp 24, 25.

|| Speech of Gerrit Smith. 14 Rep. p 12.

ciples and character of the Society." After quoting largely from the early documents of the Society, the writer remarks:—"From the constitution of the Society, the recorded opinions and proceedings of its Founders, it is obvious,

"1. That those who established the Society, looked for aid to the States and to the National Government, and that they bound themselves by their Constitution to co-operate, if practicable, with these powers in effecting their object.

"2. That they had no desire or intention of interfering, in any way, with the rights or the interests of the proprietors of Slaves.

"3. That they considered Slavery *a great moral and political evil*, and cherished the hope and belief, that the successful prosecution of their object *would offer powerful motives and exert a persuasive influence in favor of voluntary emancipation.*" * * * It is equally plain and undeniable, that the Society, in the prosecution of this work, has never interfered, or evinced even a disposition to interfere, in any way, with the rights of proprietors of Slaves. But it may be said, that the Society has expressed the opinion that Slavery is a moral and political evil, and that it has regarded the scheme of Colonization as presenting motives, and exerting a moral influence at the South, favorable to gradual and voluntary emancipation. This is true, and it is this, beyond all question, which has secured to it the countenance and patronage of our most profound and sagacious Statesmen, and given to this scheme a peculiar attractiveness and glory in the view of the enlightened friends of their country and mankind.

"And is the Society to be held up as odious and dangerous, because it entertains and avows the opinion that Slavery is an evil? Is not this a truth inscribed, as it were, upon the firmament of Heaven, and the face of the world, and the heart of men? Would not the denial of it be a denial of the fundamental principle of all Free Government? * * *

"The hostility manifested towards the American Colonization Society has not been excited, then, by any departure of the Society from the design and the principles which it avowed at its origin; nor yet from anything in its character or proceedings unfriendly to the rights and interests of the Southern States. It is the success of the Society, it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. *Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of Colonization*, and the advocates of perpetual Slavery are indignant at witnessing in effectual operation a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise, without restraint, the purest and noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous asserters of the right to judge for themselves in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the same right to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired, unless the privilege of emancipating his Slaves for the purpose of Colonization shall be denied to his master? Do they feel that in this country and this age the influences of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful, and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines?

"If so, their defeat is inevitable. Such men have more to do than to counteract the efforts of our Society. Few and feeble, even in the States of the South, they must gird themselves for warfare against all the friends of virtue and liberty—of man and God. A true son of Virginia has said, "I may be permitted to declare that I would be a Slave holder *to-day* without scruple. But, I hold it due to candor to say, that if there be a Statesman in the United States, and I believe there are two or three such, who is *content that we shall always hold them in servitude*, and would *advise us to rest contented with them, us and our posterity, without seeking or accepting, means of liberating ourselves and them*, he deserves a heavier vengeance than the orator's bile—the curses of America counseled to her ruin, and of outraged Africa. Let me not be considered harsh; for inasmuch as the piratical trader of human beings, on the African coast, the master of the Slave-ship, is the most detestable of monsters in action, so, I must say, is the advocate by cool argument of Slavery in the abstract, odious in thought."

The following extracts are from an Article on the "Character and influence of the Colonization Society," in the African Repository for September, 1831.

"Let us consider the moral influence of the Society on the system of slavery. Here it seems proper to remark, that the Society has no influence upon slavery, excepting a *moral influence*. It embraces in its provisions only the free. It does not interfere,—it desires not to interfere, in any way, with the rights or the interests of the proprietors of slaves. * * * * But although slavery is untouched by any direct operations of the Society, *its moral influence is working safely, extensively, and effectually, in favor of voluntary emancipation*. The Society arose, and has been sustained, by a spirit of benevolence to the unfortunate, and by conferring blessings in the legitimate sphere of its operations; it sets an example, which many a noble minded master of slaves has rejoiced to imitate. It shows how emancipation may be effected with benefit to the slave, and without detriment to the public welfare. It offers the most powerful motives to the humanity and religion of the master, and takes away all excuse for perpetuating slavery on the ground of political necessity. It shows how the evil may be removed, and thus silently invites individuals and States to adopt measures for this end, &c."*

In the Appendix to the 15th Annual Report, are the following remarks copied from Mr. Carey's letters:—"Among the most promising and encouraging circumstances attending the career of the Society, are the numerous manumissions that have taken place in almost all the slave States, with the express condition of the freed men being sent to Liberia. These manumissions have occurred on a scale that the most sanguine friends of the scheme could not have anticipated. Entire families have been blessed with their freedom, from the most pure motives, *a conviction of the injustice and immorality of slavery*—and in many cases, ample provision has been made for the expense of their passage, and in some, for their support in Liberia." After giving the names of several persons who have liberated or offered to liberate slaves to the number of some hundreds, the writer remarks:—"It holds out every encouragement to the Colonization Society, that the application for the transportation of free negroes and slaves, on condition of removal to Liberia, far exceed its means. There are in North Carolina, and the adjacent states, from three to four thousands of both descriptions ready to embark, were the Society in a situation to send them away."†

* pp 200, 201.

† 15 Report p. 42.

In a letter* dated Nov. 17, 1832, the Secretary of the Society says : "We fear not, then, to try the question of the influence of the Colonization Society upon the system of slavery, and we feel prepared to maintain that it tends, more than all other means and measure existing or possible, to produce, in the best manner, the abolition of slavery." In support of this opinion, he illustrates the following positions :

1st. "That the nature of the influence exerted by the Society, on the system of slavery, is solely *a moral influence*. It brings together therefore and unites, on common and *unobjectionable* grounds, in promoting this influence, the humane, patriotic and pious of every State and section of the Union.

2nd. "By inviting the attention and reflections of the people of the South, to the subject of the whole colored population."

3rd. "*Demonstrates by actual experiment, how emancipation may be effected without detriment to the public, and with immense benefit to the slaves.*"

4th. "*By elevating the character of men of color in Liberia, the Society tends to produce feelings of sympathy and respect for the colored race throughout our country, and the world.*"

* * * "Is a fact most pertinent to the object of this letter, and worth a thousand arguments, that while Mr. Garrison is representing the Colonization Society as hostile to abolition and tending to strengthen and perpetuate the system of slavery, nearly every friend of perpetual slavery at the South is an enemy to the Society ; and *the only opposition* that I am aware of at the South, arises from the conviction among the enemies of any and all abolition, that the tendency of the Society is to promote the voluntary abolition of slavery. Are the enemies of the Society at the South in circumstances less favorable than Mr. Garrison, for the formation of a correct judgement on this subject ?"

At the last Annual Meeting, R. S. Finley, Esq. who has traveled as an agent in all the slave states, made the following remarks :—"It will be borne in mind, that a prominent object of this institution is to afford the means for a safe, gradual, and *voluntary* abolition of slavery. And it is this view of the subject that constitutes its chief glory in the eye of its slave holding friends. * * * * I have publicly discussed this subject every where in the Southern states, from the Eastern shore of Maryland to the Gulf of Mexico, in the presence of hundreds of slaves at a time, and with the general approbation of the audience to which my addresses were delivered—and have uniformly represented it as affording the best, and only safe means of gradually and entirely abolishing slavery. Indeed, so well is the moral influence of the operations of this Society understood in the extreme South, that all the advocates of perpetual slavery are bitterly opposed to it, and none in that region are its advocates, but the friends of gradual, peaceful, and ultimate, entire emancipation. In fine, this Society is drawing the line in a distinct manner, between these two classes of people at the South. The friends of human liberty are enlisting under the banner of Colonization, and the advocates of perpetual despotism are arranging themselves under the banner of its adversaries."† At the same meeting G. W. P. Curtis, Esq. said :—"Some alarmists tell us the slave population is to be freed. And

* Letter of Mr. Gurley, published in N. Y. Spectator and other papers.

† 16 Rep.

sir, does any one regret that the hope is held out, that, with our own consent, we shall one day see an end of slavery? Should this Society be, as I doubt not it will, the happy means of producing this result, it will be renowned as having done one of the greatest and best deeds that have blessed the world."

Rev. William J. Armstrong, of Richmond Virginia, under date of Aug. 14, 1832, writes: "It is a fact that just in proportion as the Colonization Society has become popular in any part of this country, just in that proportion the subject of emancipation has been discussed and become popular. And hundreds of masters in all this region are looking now with anxious eyes to the growth of the colony and the prosperity of the Society, as opening a door for them to bestow freedom on their slaves. Multitudes of the young men, too, who will inherit many of these people, are patronising this Society, in the hope that it will enable them to emancipate compatibly with the good of the slaves and the community. Under present circumstances, emancipation with a view of remaining here, is not in most cases a benefit to the slaves. It is not so regarded by a majority of the more intelligent slaves. Multitudes of them would be very unwilling, (if they may be credited in what they say,) to exchange conditions with the *free* colored people. I wonder Mr. G. and his friends at the North are not a little startled to find themselves in their opposition to the Society, co-operating with the class of persons at the South, who are the advocates for the perpetual existence of slavery, either upon the ground that it is really no evil, but rather a benefit; or, though an evil, yet is one that cannot possibly be removed, and must therefore be managed in the best way practicable. All the opposers to the Society here, so far as I am acquainted, belong to this class. All who hope for, or aim at the ultimate removal of this evil, on the ground of policy, or justice, or benevolence, are unanimous in patronizing the Colonization Society. * * * I see Mr. Clay is often quoted by Mr. Garrison, for sentiments condemnatory of the Society. Are you aware that Mr. Clay is, and always has been an Abolitionist? When the constitution of Kentucky was formed, he made great efforts, and came very near succeeding, to exclude slavery from that State. It is a little remarkable that in the movements now taking place in Kentucky, which must tend before long to the abolition of slavery there, the children of the two men who were Mr. Clay's successful opposers, in the formation of the Constitution of the State, Breckinridge and Nicholas, are the leading persons. They are ardent friends of Colonization, and most of them have emancipated their slaves, or stand pledged to do it as soon as they can be removed. Throughout Virginia, and, I presume North Carolina, and the States West of them, a large majority of the Slave holders look forward to the ultimate entire removal of Slavery, as a result that must come, and is greatly to be desired, provided it can be brought about without violent convulsions to deluge the land in blood. Many are forming their plans, and educating their children with a view to this result; and the number of such is increasing."

In reply to the question, Does the success of the Colonization Society tend to rivet the chains of the Slaves? Dr. Palmer, of Charleston, S. C. writes: "Far—very far otherwise. It is universally, both by friends and foes, considered as operating directly the other way. Hence its foes hate it mortally, and its friends are too timid to attempt its vindication". In re-

ply to the inquiry, *can it be truly proved to have the contrary effect?* his answer is *YES, EASILY AND ABUNDANTLY.*"

Gerrit Smith, a distinguished friend both of Colonization and emancipation, writes: "The recent demonstrations in Virginia and Maryland, of patriotic and christian interest in our colored population are commonly ascribed to the Southampton insurrection. * * * But in my judgment, Virginia and Maryland are vastly more indebted, for the steps they have taken in the cause of freedom, *to the moral influence of the American Colonization Society than to all other causes.* And may not most of those who now rail at the Colonization Society, be likewise indebted to those same influences for their fresh and augmented interest in the welfare of the black-man? The tenacious slave holder at the South, lays all the blame of these things at the door of the Colonization Society; and this too, notwithstanding the abolitionists, charge the Society with playing designedly into the hands of such slave holders. And if such be the power of these moral influences now, when Liberia has a population of but 3000, what will it be when 50,000 of our blacks shall be gathered into that Asylum? Will it not be so great then as to loosen the bonds of our millions of slaves and set them free?"

A letter from a gentleman in St. Louis Missouri, says, that "the Colonization Society is popular among all classes," and that "a great change has taken place within ten years in the State on the subject of slavery." "Persons in the State, now hold themselves ready to emancipate, whenever their slaves can be removed to Africa, whilst to remain in this country they would not think of it."

The Hon. Willard Hall, of Wilmington Delaware, writes: "I know of no advocates of perpetual slavery amongst the members or friends of the Colonization Society. I am opposed to slavery utterly. I never held but two persons that could be called slaves: each of these was entitled to freedom at the age of 21 years. It is now many years since I held either of them. I consider slavery a bane. I believe the Colonization Society does promise more for the abolition of slavery than every other means hitherto tried." "Emancipation is going on fast in this State. We have no insurrections nor causes."*

The preceding extracts together with the history and operations of the Colonization Society, establish the following positions.

1. That most of the leading founders of the Society, expected its moral influence would tend to the voluntary emancipation of slaves.
2. That some slave holders among its founders who held a different opinion, have since abandoned the Society, on the ground that it does tend to emancipation.
3. That the Board of Managers have believed and do still believe that this is its tendency.
4. That more than 700 Slaves have been emancipated and removed in consequence of the influence of the Society, and that great numbers are now anxious to emancipate their slaves, for removal to Liberia, who are prevented by law from emancipating them to remain here, and who believe that, *under existing circumstances*, freedom in this country would not benefit their slaves.

* For several of the extracts above quoted, the author is indebted to the gentlemen to whom the letters were addressed and who have kindly permitted him to use them in this place.

5. That those who would perpetuate slavery—the enemies of emancipation at the South, oppose the Colonization Society when they understand its tendency.

6. That those who are friends to peaceful emancipation are clustering around it.

7. That in those slave states where the Colonization Society first became popular, the people are most nearly prepared for legislative enactments in favor of emancipation.

8. That in these states the discussions and measures which have drawn public sentiment so far in the right direction, have been led on by the friends of Colonization, and in immediate connexion with Colonization efforts.

9. That the publications of the Society, and the success of the Colony have done much to awaken discussion at the South, and turn public sentiment in favor of emancipation.

In advocating the Colonization system, it is by no means necessary to approve every thing that has been done, or every argument and motive which has been used by its friends. Before giving reasons for supporting the Society, I am disposed to concede some things for the sake of being better understood.

1. I do not approve of the traffic in ardent spirits, which some of the Colonists have carried on with the natives. This traffic ought to cease all over the world, and the best measures should be adopted to secure this result. The Managers of the Colonization Society* evidently entertain this opinion in relation to Liberia. The Secretary, in a letter to Roberts Vaux, Esq. dated June 26, 1832, says, "To prohibit absolutely the introduction of ardent spirits into the Colony, is believed to be impossible. This article is subject, however, to a heavy duty, and the expense of a license to retail it is such as to amount to a prohibition. Tracts on the subject of Temperance have been sent to the Colony, and the best moral means adopted to encourage the settlers watchfully and diligently to cultivate this all-important virtue."

2. *I do not suppose the Society will remove the whole colored population from this country.* Probably many of this class will prefer remaining here, and if all desired to go to Africa, "the managers have ever considered the national or State governments as alone adequate to their removal." It was this view which led them in forming the Constitution to declare that, "the Society shall act in co-operation with the General government, or such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject."

3. *I do not suppose the Society alone, will liberate all the slaves in this country.* This is not its business. Its only influence on slavery, is a moral influence. To turn aside from its proper sphere to direct efforts for the abolition of slavery, would be a violation of its Constitution and an unwarrantable perversion of its funds.

4. I do not approve of all the arguments and motives which have been urged by the advocates of the system. Sentiments which I cannot adopt, are to be found in each of the publications named at the head of this article. Some individuals have denied the right of the colored race to a home in this country. Some have said that slaves ought not to be liberated unless they are removed from the country. I have no faith in

* See Af. Repos., June 1832, p. 128.

† The expense of a license is said to be \$300.

these doctrines. Slaves ought to be liberated as soon as they can be with benefit to themselves, and free men of color have a right to remain here if they choose. Some have doubtless spoken too strong in describing the wretched condition of the colored race, and too despairingly in relation to their elevation in this country. Probably a description of the free colored people as they are found in the slave States, would not apply to the same class in New England.

5. Some may have *patronized* the Society from wrong motives; from a prejudice against color, and a consequent desire for its removal; from a sense of danger—fear of insurrection—and some at the South may have given money for this object with the hope of thereby rendering slaves and slavery more secure. It is certain that some who once favored the Society, now oppose it, on the ground that it tends to emancipation.

6. It is possible that the Board of Managers, or individual members of it, may have said injudicious things, or may have committed mistakes. They are men and liable to err in thought, word, or deed, like other men, and their sphere of labor has been one of peculiar delicacy and trial. If they have departed in the least from the Constitution and the established principles of the Society, or in the management of its affairs have committed any error, I do not, in defending the Society, approve such departure, or justify their errors. Having said this, it is proper to express the full conviction, growing out of a tolerably thorough examination of the subject, that whoever acquaints himself with the operations of the Society, and the difficulties with which the Managers have had to contend, will be astonished at finding so little in their management to censure. But if there had been mismanagement even to a great extent, and this were clearly proved, it would be as unreasonable to abandon the Society for this reason, as it would be to abandon Christianity because it has sometimes been perverted, or has had bad advocates. On the contrary, it would of itself be a sufficient reason why good men should rally around it. The Society is a powerful engine; and if there is the least danger of its perversion, the friends of humanity should at once lay hold of it, and give it a right direction. As a citizen of New England, I feel bound to aid the American Colonization Society, and for the following reasons:

1. It benefits the free people of color who accept its offers and remove to Liberia. This no one will doubt who believes the testimony of the Colonists themselves, of their agents and instructors, of intelligent men of color, who have visited the colony with a view to emigration, or of distinguished naval officers from this country, Great Britain, and France, who have examined the state of the Colony.

2. If the Society is sustained and accomplishes its object, it will confer great blessings on Africa.

It will aid in suppressing the slave trade. Sierra Leone, with all its embarrassments, has done much in this way. The colony at Liberia occupies a territory which was once the seat of the traffic. A merchant from that place stated a few months since, that previous to the commencement of the colony, 4000 or 5000 slaves were annually carried out of the harbor of Monrovia. "Before the establishment of the settlements at Liberia, there were several slave factories within a few miles of Monrovia, all of which have been completely broken up."* "Nothing has

*M. Carey's Letter.

tended more to suppress the slave trade in this quarter, than the constant intercourse and communication of the natives with these industrious colonists. The American Agent, Mr. Ashmun, took every opportunity and means in his power to extinguish a traffic so injurious in every way to the fair trader." "Wherever the influence of this Colony extends, the slave trade has been abandoned by the natives, and the peaceful pursuits of legitimate commerce established in its place."* Armed vessels have frequently cruised upon the coast since the commencement of the Colony, and have received essential aid from it, in detecting and punishing slave traders. A large number of slave ships have been captured, and the slaves liberated and placed in comfortable circumstances near the Colony or at Sierra Leone, or returned to their native homes. By supplying the native tribes in the vicinity with such articles of European, West Indian, or American productions as they need, the Colonists aid in withdrawing them from the slave trade. Several tribes have already placed themselves under the protection of the Colony, to shield themselves from the ravages of those who would kidnap and sell them; and others offer to do so. King Boatswain, the commander of the most powerful tribe, which has had intercourse with the Colony, has repeatedly said, "When you will supply my tribe with necessary articles in exchange for our productions, we will sell no more slaves." Let the coast be lined with such colonies, and they will effectually guard the interior. There would be a "living barrier" which the slave dealers could not penetrate. Let them become sufficiently numerous to supply the wants of the native tribes, and this will stop the traffic in flesh and blood. Or let the native tribes become civilized and Christianized, and they will no longer sell each other, nor will civilized men enslave them, or permit them to be enslaved. Let Africa be elevated and take rank among civilized nations, and Americans would no sooner buy or sell Africans than they would Frenchmen and Englishmen.

"By the same process by which the colonization of the coast tends to the suppression of the slave trade, it promotes the civilization of the interior of Africa." "I know it is said that it is impossible to civilize Africa. Why? Why is it impossible to civilize man in one part of the earth more than another? Consult history. Was Italy—was Greece the cradle of civilization? No. As far back as the lights of tradition reach, *AFRICA was the cradle of Science, while Syria, and Greece, and Italy were yet covered with darkness.*"† "The destruction of the Carthaginian annals by the Romans, renders it impossible to enumerate any of her great men, except her warriors. Rome never produced a greater General than Hannibal. Some of his relations were men of great talents in the same department. Jugurtha was superior to most of the Romans who were sent against him. Terence, the dramatist, was an African. Christianity and civilization were early introduced into Africa. There were several provincial councils held there. * * * * * Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, among the great lights of Christianity in their day, were Africans."‡

That Africans are capable of elevation when surrounded by proper motives, there is no good reason to doubt. The obstacles to their eleva-

* Essay on the state of the slave trade on the African coast in the [British] Amulet for 1832.

† E. Everett.

‡ M. Carey.

tion in this country, explain their present condition, and furnish no proof that they are incapable of cultivation. The want of education—property—of character—of good society, and indeed, of all the motives which elevate other men, and render life desirable, explains the facts which speak out from our poor houses and prisons,* without supposing colored people more prone to ignorance, indolence and crime, than the whites would be under similar embarrassments. The short experiment at Liberia, shows that they can feel the power of motives and rise in character and condition to any desirable extent, and it is not easy to conceive of a more successful method to teach the native Africans civilization and Christianity, than by means of civilized and Christian Colonies, planted by men of their own color—by the descendants of those who were once stolen from among them.

Whether colonies will exert a good influence on Africa, will of course depend upon their character. If the means of intellectual and moral elevation are not furnished, or are perverted or neglected, and the Colonists become corrupt, they cannot exert a good influence upon the native tribes, but on the contrary, will present serious obstacles to their improvement. But if necessary means shall be furnished, and be properly applied: if schools and churches shall arise, and the school master and the missionary of the cross be “abroad,” and all the institutions of free government shall be in successful operation, and the native tribes shall witness these advantages, they will desire to enjoy them. They will plead with increasing earnestness for these institutions and strive with new zeal to imitate the manners of those whose protection they already seek. The cry, “Come over and help us” which has commenced on the coast, will wax louder and louder. It will extend into the interior and will echo

“ From many an ancient river—
“ From many a palmy plain,”

till it shall disturb the death-like slumber—the cruel apathy and indifference which has so long existed in relation to the wrongs of Africa, and rouse all Christendom for her relief. The cry of Africa will be heard. It has already entered the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, and those who bear the Saviour’s image, and regard His parting command, will soon be moved by it. It will be seen and felt that Africa has *one claim* upon the American missionary, which no other heathen land can plead with so much propriety. It is that of eternal **JUSTICE**. It will also be seen that Liberia presents a noble opportunity for meeting this claim. It opens a channel of intercourse, through which science and religion may flow into the heart of that continent. It is an opening in her dark forests through which the star of Bethlehem gleams, and the beams of the sun of Righteousness can penetrate and diffuse life, and happiness, and hope, among a hundred millions.

* In Mass. in 1826, nearly 1-6th part of the convicts were colored, while only 1-74th part of the whole population was of this description.

In Conn. 1-3d part of the population was colored, and 1-3 of the convicts. In Vermont, the whole colored population was 918, from whom 24 were furnished for the penitentiary. In New York, 1-34th part of the population were colored, and about 1-4th of the convicts. In New Jersey, 1-13th part of the population were colored, 1-3d of the convicts. In Pennsylvania, 1-34th part of the population were colored, and 1-3d of the convicts.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, paid for the support of their colored convicts in ten years previous to 1826, \$164,066, while the colored population of these States was less than \$54,000.—*Prison Discipline Report, 1826.*

3. The success of the Society and colony, will benefit the free people of color who remain in this country. It is in vain to urge against this position, that some of the colored people in the New England, or other free States, are opposed to it. Their opposition is easily explained. They have been told to "Abandon all thoughts of colonizing yourselves as a people, in Africa, Hayti, Upper Canada, or elsewhere. Every intelligent man of color, whom the Colonization Society induces to go to Liberia, ought to be considered as a traitor to your cause."

"The supporters of the African scheme do not hesitate to avow that the *whole colored population* **MUST** be removed to Liberia. But how do they expect to accomplish this design? By putting on knapsacks and pointing bayonets at your breasts? No,—but by adopting another plan which is about as cruel and effectual. By removing some of your number every year, they persuade the people that your entire removal will not be difficult. *The people* cherishing this opinion, yet perceiving how reluctantly you go, resolve to starve you out. They are determined to give you as little instruction and employment as possible, in order to render your situation so uncomfortable as to compel you to remove. As long, therefore, as a considerable portion of your number consent to be removed, no matter where, the same disastrous effects will follow. Those who remain (of course the great body,) will obtain little or no employment, and receive little or no education; consequently, they will always be miserable and degraded. Now, it is time to stop; it is time to resolve on death sooner than transportation."* Such was the advice given to the free people of color, in several cities, by one who makes great professions of regard for their welfare, and great promises in relation to their "College" and their future privileges in this country. The same sentiments have been industriously circulated among those who can read. They have been told that, "Colonizationists, too, generally agree in discouraging your instruction and elevation at home. They pretend that ignorance is bliss; therefore, 'tis folly to be wise. They pretend that knowledge is a dangerous thing in the head of a colored man; they pretend that you have no ambition: they pretend that you have no brains: in fine, they pretend a thousand other absurd things—they are a combination of pretences."† Without stopping to enquire whether these statements are more destitute of truth or of common sense, it is obvious that there is nothing mysterious in the opposition of some of the colored people. If they believe such statements as are circulated among them in the *Liberator*, as well as in the address referred to, they must of necessity suppose Colonizationists a very wicked set of peo-

* Address delivered before the free people of color in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, June, 1831. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

† Address, p. 20. Much surprise has been expressed at the excitement in New Haven relative to the proposition for establishing an African College in that city. It should be remembered that this Address had been recently delivered there, and produced a great excitement among the colored people. It is not strange that the people object to a College which should place the colored people under such instructions, and such an influence. The late excitement in Canterbury, Ct. seems to have been produced by an attempt to establish a female school for colored persons, *against the wishes of the people*. The teacher was informed by the civil authority and select men, "that the citizens of Canterbury were opposed to this school, which was to be under the patronage of Arnold Buffum—his extravagant views were to be taught in that school." * * * "The *Liberator* was to be the mouth-piece of the school, and Miss [the teacher] had declared that Colonizing the people of color, was a system of fraud, from beginning to end." To carry the School into effect, it seems Mr. Buffum, and other gentlemen from abroad, undertook to interfere with the deliberations of the town meeting in Canterbury. [See account of the proceedings as given by the civil authority and select men.—*Vermont Courier*, March 27.]

ple, who are anxious to ‘turn them off to die like old horses.’ But what is the effect of the Society and the Colony upon the free colored people in this country? The Society by its agents and publications, has described the condition of the colored people, and urged their sufferings, and degradation, and exposure to temptation and crime, as reasons for doing something for their welfare. If they have in any instance described their condition as worse than it is, they have in such instance done wrong. The *effect* of this course, however, has been to arouse the colored people to a sense of their condition and to efforts for improvement. The Society has done much to call the attention of the community to the condition of the colored race—awaken sympathy in their behalf and call forth efforts for their improvement here, or their emigration to Liberia and elevation there. The friends of Colonization must desire the education of the colored people in order to their being qualified for citizens of Liberia. If they become intelligent, virtuous, and free from prejudice, they will not be so easily duped by those who would prevent their emigration, and they will make better citizens whether they reside in this country or in Africa. This view seems to be taken by friends of Colonization in slave States, as well as in New England. The last report of the Synod of Virginia,* says: “The Colonization Society shares largely in the sympathies and benevolent efforts of this portion of the church. Contributions to this enterprise are increasing; and many who are watching in hope the brightening prospects of the Christian colony planted on the shores of Africa, *are also directing their attention to the long neglected duty of instructing those of the colored race, who are within the sphere of their immediate influence.* As a church, we have reason to thank God that some of our number are awake to the vast importance of this subject. The conviction is impressed on their hearts, we trust, by the Spirit of truth, that *new efforts must be made to give regularly, sound religious instructions, to the colored people within our bounds.*” These two objects seem to go hand in hand.

The success of the Colony increases the interest awakened by the degraded condition of the colored people in this country. It demonstrates the absurdity of an opinion which has extensively prevailed, that the blacks are incapable of being elevated. It proves that they are men, capable of feeling the motives which elevate other men. Their language is: “Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil and resources of the country at our disposal, we know nothing of that debasing inferiority with which our very color stamped us in America. There is nothing here to create the feeling on our part—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of foreigners who visit us. It is this *moral emancipation*—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters—that repays us ten thousand times over, for all it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God and our American patrons for the happy change which has taken place in our situation.”†

The prosperity of the Colonists as it becomes known to the colored people in America will remove their discouragement, elevate their hopes, and rouse them to efforts, either that they may join their brethren in Af-

* Western Luminary, Dec. 12, 1832. The Synod has more than 9000 communicants.

† Address of the Colonists.

rica, or rival their condition in this country. As colored men rise in condition and character, become intelligent and virtuous, either here or in Africa, the prejudices of the whites will soften, and give place to feelings of sympathy and respect. When the colored people in this country shall manifest a strong desire for improvement, and endeavor by proper measures to help themselves, the whites will be more ready to assist them. If a portion of the laboring blacks remove to Africa, there will be more employment for those who remain. It is absurd to say that, if "a portion of the colored people consent to be removed, those who remain will obtain little or no employment," as it would be to say, that if laborers from Vermont emigrate to Ohio, "those who remain will obtain little or no employment, and receive little or no education; consequently they will always be miserable and degraded." Let the colored people cease to be jealous of the whites and be industrious, enterprising, faithful laborers, and employment and means of education will not be wanting, so long as there are friends of African Colonization who can furnish them. The great number of free blacks who are without employment in some of the slave states increases their temptations to crime, and their consequent punishment, and the jealousy of the whites, and the laws which seem to us oppressive. Let a considerable portion of these be removed and placed in circumstances of comfort; and the sufferings and temptations and crimes of the remainder would be diminished, the jealousy of the whites would cease, those laws would be repealed, and necessary provision be made for the welfare of the blacks.

4. The influence of the Colonization Society lessens the danger of insurrection.

This danger arises mainly from two causes; the sufferings of the slaves, and the sufferings of the free blacks. The love of freedom is inseparable from the human soul. Slaves must desire freedom, and be willing to make great sacrifices to obtain it, especially if excited by cruel treatment, or by seditious instructions and a prospect of success. Labor to them is odious, because it is constrained, and is performed for others. Perhaps the strongest idea they attach to freedom is, liberty to be idle and do as they please. This idea is easily obtained. They see that white men do not work, but go and come at will, and live or revel upon the labor of others. This is a palpable definition of freedom to the untaught slave. He sees also that those of his own color who are free are generally idle, and indulge in their favorite amusements and vices. He believes himself entitled to the same rights, and there is a constant temptation to secure them by violence. The desire of freedom is ready to burst out on any emergency, and where there is unkindness and severity in their treatment, the spirit of revenge must be deeply rooted and rankling in their hearts. Thus there will be constant danger of insurrection.

This danger is greatly increased by the condition and influence of the free blacks. These are either slaves liberated, or their descendants. A large portion of them in the slave states are poor and wretched, either because they will not labor, or cannot find employment. They must have a subsistence in some way; if not by honest industry, it must be by stealth. They have been so much accustomed to consider the whites as their oppressors, and their sense of right and wrong is so much perverted

or obscured by their circumstances, that, to steal from the whites, does not seem to them a great sin ; and it is not strange that this crime should frequently be detected among free blacks.

Then there is a strong temptation to exert a bad influence over the slaves—to entice them into scenes of dissipation where this is possible—draw from them property committed to their care—promote a spirit of discontent and insubordination,—circulate among them inflammatory sentiments orally, and seditious writings among such as can read. This occasions severe laws for the government both of free blacks and slaves. Free blacks become objects of suspicion and dread, laws are passed compelling them to leave the state, or give security for their good behavior. Slaves are prohibited from learning to read, lest they should be furnished with such writings as will promote insurrection. They are prevented from holding meetings for improvement or social intercourse, lest they should plot the destruction of their masters. They are carefully watched or guarded by night, lest they should rally for the midnight attack. In proportion to their insubordination will be the severity of their treatment. This severity and insubordination mutually increase each other, and the whole process tends directly to insurrection. The Colonization Cause will do much to check this tendency. By the same process that it benefits the free colored people in this country, or provides for them an asylum in Africa and makes it easy of access, it lessens their sufferings, inspires them with hope, stimulates them to exertion, mitigates the rigor of their treatment, and diminishes their temptations to mischief, and the danger of insurrection. Let the slaves understand that a process is going on which is designed for their benefit by removing their temptations, securing their better treatment, such as will enable their masters to give them freedom and place them in circumstances of comfort, it will do much to quell the spirit of revenge, and prevent the shedding of blood.

5. The successful operations of the Society will benefit the slaves and open the way for their emancipation and elevation. Whatever tends to lessen the danger of insurrection, will secure kinder treatment to the slaves. Remove this danger, and thousands of masters could not resist the conviction that it is their duty to give their slaves instruction. Laws forbidding their instruction would be repealed. We have already seen that the moral influence of the society tends to the voluntary emancipation of slaves. "It will remove the difficulties which have hitherto deterred hundreds of humane masters from emancipation, and increase manifold the motives of the slaves to seek, and the masters to grant, emancipation." As the colony prospers, her commerce will extend, her vessels will be seen in our ports and her enterprising merchants be seen and respected in our cities ; and the master who holds their brethren in bondage will shrink from the presence of such men. Let civilization extend into Africa and elevate her population, and the consciences of Americans would as readily admit of holding Europeans in slavery as Africans.

"When Africa shall have put on the garments of civilization, and the influences of her regeneration shall be felt throughout this land, our most tenacious and obstinate slave-holder will shrink from the relation he bears to her children. The poor creatures whom he formerly regarded

as but a few removes above the brute, will now present himself before the new associations of his master's mind as his fellow-man and his equal—and the slave will be permitted to go free."* Multitudes of masters, as they watch the progress of the colony, will become fully convinced that slaves can be liberated with benefit to themselves, and without injury to others, and they will pursue a course of discipline which will fit them for self government and support. By the moral influences which the Colonization Society has set in motion, and will yet draw in its train, there is much reason to hope that changes in public sentiment will take place and benevolent efforts move onward, till every slave is free and in circumstances where freedom can be enjoyed.

6. The successful operation of the society will exert a powerful influence in softening the asperity of feeling between the North and the South—removing the alienation; and strengthening the union of the states. Slavery has been a fruitful source of discord and jealousy. Existing only in a portion of the states, it is still the occasion of mutual recrimination. The citizens of the free states, holding slavery in abhorrence and believing it their duty to use all lawful means for its extinction, are liable to talk and act unwisely in relation to it, and the citizens of the slave states are naturally prone to be suspicious of every allusion to slavery, and every measure adopted in the free states for its removal. Here is the secret of the strange and varied opposition to the Colonization Society in its early efforts. The society has done much to diminish the jealousy among its members scattered through all the states.†

The slave holder who desires to emancipate can do so in a way consistent with the laws of the states, the rights and interests of his fellow citizens, and the best good of his slaves, and no objection can reasonably be made to it. The slave holder who is not disposed to follow his example has no reason to object. The Society seeks not to interfere with any rights or interests secured to him by law, and if he chooses not to patronise he has *no right* to oppose it.

The friends of humanity, the prudent and pious of all sects, sections, and parties, can unite, and act in harmony, for the benefit of the free blacks, on the simple provision of its constitution. Here is common ground on which all can meet and interchange their various views in relation to slavery and kindred interests; and who does not see that such facilities

* Speech of Gerrit Smith, 14 An. Report, p. 11.

† Some solicitude has doubtless been felt in relation to discussions, and different views and excited feelings, at the adjourned meetings of the Society in Washington the last winter, and certain Editors have seemed to take a particular pleasure in dwelling upon those discussions, and magnifying the differences, as if the Society were near to dissolution, and they were in haste to rejoice over its ruins. By comparing the reports of several correspondents of northern papers, it would seem that the excitement was occasioned, partly by misunderstanding the objects to be gained by proposed alterations, and partly by the management of designing individuals. Some changes had been made in the Board of Managers, and some alterations were proposed in the constitution. Before the proposed alterations could be acted upon, it appears that certain persons particularly interested, took occasion to sound an alarm in the ears of southern members, by representing that those who had proposed the alterations had "become abolitionists." By this it was understood, not merely that they abhorred slavery and desired that all proper measures should be taken for its peaceful and safe removal, for this had been an established and well known fact for years; but it was rumored that they had adopted, in substance, those views of Abolition which in New England constitute what is properly termed *Garrisonism*, and that these alterations were designed to pave the way for letting in upon the southern states the spirit and measures of this northern Abolitionism. No wonder that this rumor occasioned excitement, jealousy and misunderstanding, and made it necessary to pass a resolution, that there was no design of departing from the objects of the Society, as defined in the second article of the constitution. This excitement will doubtless lead to an interchange of views, which will promote harmony of feeling and action among the friends of humanity in all parts of the country, unless those who have an object to gain shall succeed in throwing in fire-brands, to do the work of Sampson's "young foxes."

afford the fairest opportunity for devising plans, *in which all parties can unite*, for the removal of an evil which all deplore? It is certain that the friends of colonization in the North and South, as they become more acquainted with each other's views, become less jealous, and more like members of one family, having common interests and responsibilities. A distinguished citizen of the South said with emphasis not long since in relation to nullification movements in South Carolina, "I have been looking at this subject with deep interest for some time, and have been astonished at the result of my inquiries. *I know of no consistent friend of the Colonization Society in South Carolina or the other slave states, who is not also a UNION MAN.*" To a mind familiar with the history of the Society there is nothing astonishing in this fact. The measures of the Society have been peaceful and eminently fitted to produce UNION if correctly understood. Furnishing, as it has, a medium of communication for its friends in all parts of the Union, it has spread before them facts which are peculiarly fitted to soften asperity, and promote a spirit of forbearance and conciliation.

Friends of the Society in New England, while their abhorrence of Slavery is not at all diminished, have learned that nothing can be gained by harsh or reproachful language; that it is idle to aim at its *peaceful termination* by any measures which the planters themselves cannot be persuaded to countenance; and that interference of such a nature as must of necessity jeopardize their safety and provoke their hostility, is not likely to secure their approbation or benefit their slaves.

Friends of the Society at the South, as they reflect upon slavery, and the condition of the whole colored race, and become acquainted with Northern feelings, see that there is some reason for the hostility to Slavery in New England. When they perceive that with all their abhorrence of slavery, and all the inconvenience they suffer from it, the people of the the free states are still disposed to treat their Southern brethren with forbearance, and assist in any reasonable measures for removing an acknowledged evil, more disastrous to the South than the North, jealousy subsides and gives place to kindness and respect. Let the operations of the Society be fairly understood, and be carried forward with prudence and energy, there will be a rallying point, around which will cluster all the friends of liberty and humanity, of man and of God. Its peaceful doctrines and measures will disarm prejudice and will silence opposition or render it harmless: Its facts and motives will awaken sympathy and enlist effort: Its success will remove the causes of alienation which now exist, and bind in holy brotherhood the hearts of good men in all parts of the nation, and the shout of "*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable*" shall meet a hearty response in every village, and vibrate in every heart.

7. The success of the Society will greatly increase benevolent feeling and action in this country. It is a fact established by experiment and common sense, that whatever calls into exercise benevolent feelings increases their power, as really as exercise of the body increases its muscular power. If benevolent feelings exist they will produce corresponding action. Among all the benevolent societies of the present day, perhaps no one has done more than this to awaken such feelings. Many persons are disposed to patronize this who do not patronize others. Many who at first looked upon it as a wild attempt to perform impossibilities, now find

their views enlarged, their expectations are sanguine and their free will offerings liberal. The progress already made by the society in overcoming the obstacles of prejudice, ignorance and selfishness, peopling peaceful happy villages on a barbarous shore, causing the yells of savage warfare and the shrieks of tortured captives to give place to the "busy hum" of civilized society and the songs of Zion ; the slave factory and the slave ship to give place to extended warehouses and merchant vessels, is well fitted to silence the cavils of avarice and incredulity, and enforce the direction, "attempt great things, expect great things."

Let any one read the publications of the society, he will doubtless find here and there a sentence or sentiment which he cannot approve. But if one can trace its history or read an Annual Report, or the speeches at an annual meeting of the Society, or a volume of the African Repository, and not have his benevolent feelings enlarged, he can furnish convincing proof that he has none, or that prejudice has rendered them strangely obtuse. It has been peculiarly interesting to watch the progress of some powerful minds in their examination of the publications of this Society. The examination has frequently been commenced with a great degree of indifference, perhaps with prejudice, but the facts and arguments had a resistless energy, and the mind could not dwell upon them unmoved. The best feelings of the heart have been enlisted, and the individual has risen from the investigation an ardent friend, and perhaps an eloquent and persevering advocate of Colonization. Let the whole community be thoroughly acquainted with the history and tendency of the society, and there will not be wanting advocates or patrons. Let its success be equal to its present prospects and its power of doing good, if properly sustained, and no object of Christian philanthropy will be thought too great for an experiment. Changes will be wrought in the condition of degraded human beings, and in public sentiment in regard to them, which will write upon every enlightened mind, in living characters, the soul stirring truth, that there is no race of men on earth too low to be elevated to freedom and happiness" by human agency, aided and directed by the truth, and grace, and Spirit of God. The Society is making one of those grand experiments which if successful, must inspire hope and prayer and set in motion influences and efforts, which will not cease, till Africa shall be regenerated, and stand forth among the nations of the earth as distinguished for her greatness and glory as she has been for her degradation and misery—till the command of the Savior "**GO TEACH ALL NATIONS**" shall be obeyed ; and songs of salvation shall be heard wherever there are human beings.

S. I plead the cause of the Colonization Society, because while it is doing much good, it need not stand in the way of any other benevolent enterprize. It is of course favorable to the operations of Bible, Tract, Education, Sabbath School, Missionary and Seamen's Friend Societies, and opens a most inviting field for all of them to cultivate. If affords peculiar facilities for such Societies to push their adventures into the interior.

By its intercourse with the native tribes, the colony will afford protection to the Missionary who may penetrate the interior, and, if proper means are furnished, will train up Missionaries for the purpose. Let bibles and tracts and schoolmasters and Missionaries follow the British Steamboat up the Niger, and let efforts be made for the intellectual and moral renovation of the people as vigorous and persevering as those which resulted

in the discovery of that River ; the Society will bid them God speed.*

To those who would elevate the colored people in this country the friends of Colonization will say, go on and prosper, only let your efforts be wisely directed.

" It has been said that the society is unfriendly to the improvement of the free people of color while they remain in the United States.. THERE IS NO TRUTH IN THE ASSERTION. *We rejoice in their prosperity and happiness.*"† Build a 'manual labor school,' increase their means of education and happiness by every proper means, only beware that you do not fill them with prejudice and bitterness against the whites. Do not misrepresent the efforts and sentiments of those who are endeavoring to do them good in another manner. Do not tell the colored people that 'every one who is induced to go to Liberia ought to be considered a traitor to their cause,' or use influence to prejudice them against the Society, or the colony ; in fine do them no injury, but only good, and the friends of Colonization will approve and aid your efforts. The advocate of immediate abolition has no reason to oppose the society ; its tendency as has been clearly proved is favorable to emancipation. And if some of its friends, in common with the great body of the American people, have expressed the opinion that immediate universal emancipation is impracticable, or that it would not be beneficial either to the slaves or the nation, they are doubtless open to farther light, and stand ready to retract whenever convinced they are in error. They of course believe that if universal emancipation were to take place, the colored people would need the aid of the society more than they now do ; and that to abandon it would be to blot out the star of promise, and wither the brightest hopes and prospects of the whole African race. Entertaining these views, the friends of Colonization in New England will prosecute their enterprise, till a better plan is devised ; or till it is discovered that it stands in the way of a better one. If ridiculed and opposed, may they imitate him, who when reviled, reviled not again, but prayed for his enemies, and toiled and suffered for their welfare. Let them be stimulated by his example to obey that injunction ' whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them, they shall receive the reward and the welcome of 'good and faithful servants.' The present children of Africa may misunderstand the movements and motives and be jealous of the friends of Colonization, but her future generations will rise and call them blessed, and these efforts will one day excite feelings of joy and gratitude wherever human beings can trace the history of the American Colonization Society.

The managers urge the establishment of a High School or Seminary "to prepare youth not only to become able teachers" but "to fulfil successfully their duties as public officers, or Ministers of religion," and invite donations for this purpose. [See 16th report page 7.] Where are the men who will be pioneers in this work, and establish a *Manual labor school or College* in Liberia, that shall advance the interests of science, arts, agriculture, education, government and religion in the colony, and train up teachers and missionaries for the interior ? To what object would funds be more cheerfully contributed in New England ?

† African Repository Sept. 1831 p. 205.

PART II.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

1. *The Liberator.*
2. *Address to the free people of color, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison*
3. *Constitution of the New England Anti Slavery Society.*
4. *The Abolitionist.*
5. *First Annual Report of the N. E. Anti Slavery Society.*

Several years since, Mr. Garrison commenced his warfare upon the system of slavery, and for a time, he was associated with Mr. Lundy, at Baltimore, in publishing the Genius of Universal Emancipation, in which he gave great offence to the citizens of the South. He was at length prosecuted for a libel, convicted, fined, and imprisoned. It was thought by many, that he suffered unjustly, for pleading the cause of the oppressed; and much sympathy was excited in his behalf. Poetry and newspaper paragraphs written by him in confinement, were copied into many of the papers, widely circulated, and read with deep interest. His fine was paid by a gentleman of New York and his person set at liberty: after which, he went to Boston and commenced the Liberator, the third volume of which is now publishing weekly by himself and Mr. Isaac Knapp, and circulated extensively among the free colored people.

Early in 1831, he commenced his attacks upon the Colonization Society, and in June, he addressed the free people of color in Philadelphia, New York, and other cities, advising them, among other things, (some of which are praise-worthy,) 'To sustain those periodicals devoted to their cause: 'To support each other'—that is, 'Sell to each other, and buy of each other, in preference of the whites.'* To 'maintain their rights in all cases, and at whatever expense.'* To 'maintain their rights as they would defend their lives.'† Finally, he advises them to 'abandon all thoughts of colonizing themselves as a people in Africa, Hayti, Upper Canada, or elsewhere.'‡ This was soon afterwards published and circulated industriously among the colored people; more than one-fourth of it devoted to opposing the Colonization Society. During the same year, preparations were made by him and a few others, and the Anti Slavery Society was formed in Boston, Jan. 1, 1832. The following gentlemen were appointed its officers.

Arnold Buffum,	President.	Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Cor. Sec.
James C. Odiorne,	Vice Presidents.	Joshua Coffin, Rec. Sec.
Alonzo Lewis,		Michael H. Simpson, Treas.

At the monthly meeting in February, it was voted "that a copy of the Constitution and address of the Society be sent to all the editors of newspapers," and "to every Clergyman in New England, earnestly soliciting his co-operation in promoting the objects of the Society." Although the Constitution has no allusion to African Colonization, more than one-third of the address is devoted to opposing the Colonization Society. During the year, Mr. Garrison published his 'Thoughts' on Colonization, which he commends to the "attention of the two most powerful classes in this country—Editors of newspapers, and the Clergy,"§ as 'the powerful influence of the Clergy is to be broken.'|| In January, 1833, the Abolitionist was commenced by the Society; edited by a Committee. During the same month, the First Annual Meeting was held, and the First Report, with an Appendix, has recently appeared from the press of Garrison & Knapp, in a pamphlet of 54 pages. The Report and numbers of the Abolitionist already issued, show that the Man-

* Address, p. 14.

† Ib.

‡ p. 17. etc.

§ p. 38.

|| p. 7.

agers adopt Mr. Garrison's opposition to the Colonization Society, and make it a prominent part of their object. More than half the Report is occupied by an attack upon the Colonization Society, and the reasons why "they denounce and oppose it," are given in the true style and spirit of his "Thoughts." Speaking of their success, the Managers say,

"With feeble means, the Society has produced great results. It has constantly employed its Presiding officer as an Agent for the past six months, to go forth to the people, and urge its claims upon their charities and confidence. His labors, it is believed, have been extensively useful. The Managers bear honorable testimony to his zeal, faithfulness and ability. Other agents have been successfully employed for a shorter period. Five thousand copies of the Constitution and address of the Society have been printed for gratuitous distribution. A liberal purchase has been made of Mr. Garrison's "Thoughts on African Colonization," for a similar purpose. The Society has effected the emancipation of a young slave-boy in this city by a suit at law. It is now making strenuous exertions for the establishment of a Manual Labor School, for the education of colored youth, and will probably attain its object. It has effected the conversion of a multitude of minds to the doctrine of immediate abolition, and given a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society."*

From the Liberator, it appears that the President, Mr. Buffum, while giving addresses on Slavery, frequently attacked the Colonization Society.† Mr. Johnson, the present Recording Secretary,‡ lectured in 15 or 20 places in New England during the last year, and in some, if not all of them, attacked the Colonization Society. Mr. Garrison, while travelling in Maine as an Agent of the Anti Slavery Society, attended a meeting called by the friends of Colonization, and occupied a considerable portion of two evenings in opposing the Society.§ He has frequently lectured against the Society in Massachusetts.

An effort has been made by officers of the Society to prejudice benevolent individuals in Great Britain against the Colonization System. Mr. Garrison wrote to James Cropper, in May 1832. Mr. Buffum also has written to him and to Thomas Clarkson. The prominent object of these letters, and the documents sent with them, seems to have been to persuade them that the Colonization Society is a "conspiracy against human rights." They have been successful in persuading James Cropper, Joseph Phillips, and Capt. Charles Stuart to oppose the Society, by publishing objections to it gathered from the "letters—Thoughts—and—Liberator" of Mr. Garrison: and their communications furnish new materials for the New England Anti Slavery publications.||

It has seemed to be necessary to trace the movements of the Society thus minutely, as the constitution does not explain all the objects which the Society is aiming to accomplish.

"The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the condition of the free people of color, to improve and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."**

Who would suppose from this article that the Anti Slavery Society is devoting a prominent part of its efforts to opposing the Colonization Society?

As a citizen of New England, I cannot but desire the abolition of slavery, and the elevation of the people of color to freedom and happiness; but there are reasons why I cannot co-operate with the New England Anti Slavery Society, which a sense of duty urges me to state thus publicly. Before doing this, it seems necessary to express more fully my views in relation to slavery, and the objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution. I believe,

1. That slavery is a moral wrong, and a great political evil—a curse both to the slave, the master and the nation.

2. That slaves ought to be liberated as soon as they can be with benefit to themselves, and without producing evils greater than slavery itself, and that it is the interest as well as *duty* of proprietors and States, to pursue the best means for effecting this purpose.

3. That there are but two ways in which they can be emancipated: one of these is by force, the other by the consent of their masters.

4. That we have no right, civil or religious, to liberate them by force, or pursue such means as would tend to insurrections.

5. That as slavery is a national evil, and as New England ships, and seamen, and capital were actively employed in enslaving the fathers, it is right that the citizens of New England should share the labor and expense of giving freedom and happiness to the children.

*p. 42. † See his letters in the Liberator for six months previous to February 1. ‡Liberator, Jan 12, over the signature of R. N. § See Kennebeck Journal, Oct. 12, 1832.

|| Letter of Joseph Phillips, Lib. Dec. 15, 1832.

**Constitution, Article 2.

6. That whatever can be done by the people of New England, in a spirit of kindness, to assist the proprietors of slaves to think and act right on this whole subject, is a reasonable duty.

7. Calling them hard names, insulting or abusing, or pursuing measures fitted to exasperate them, is not likely to produce right feelings or action among proprietors, or benefit their slaves.

8. That the free colored people in this country have strong claims upon our sympathy and assistance; and while those who desire it should be assisted to remove to Liberia, those who remain in this country should be furnished with means of education and every possible facility for becoming good citizens.

9. That whatever tends to make them jealous of the whites and excite bitter and vindictive feelings, is not fitted to make them good citizens, or secure for them the respect and assistance they need.

10. That to circulate among the free blacks of New England, publications, which, if circulated in the slave States, would necessarily tend to insurrection, is injurious to the colored people, and *not sanctioned by law, humanity, or religion*.*

In relation to the founders and patrons of the New England Anti Slavery Society, I am happy to admit,

1. That they ardently desire to benefit the whole colored race, and are willing to make vigorous efforts for this purpose.

2. That some of them have manifested a zeal and perseverance worthy of this noble enterprize.

3. That in their publications there are many noble sentiments, worthy of the approbation of all men.

4. To the objects of the Society, as expressed in the second article of the Constitution, if properly pursued, I could have no objection. But I cannot co-operate with the Society,

1. *Because it opposes the Colonization Society*, although no provision is made for this in the Constitution.

After the most thorough examination, this opposition seems to me unreasonable; and it is bad policy to tear down a Society which is proved to be a good one, for the sake of building up another of doubtful tendency, and one which, if successful, would render the former indispensable. If the Anti Slavery Society could persuade the Southern people to emancipate all their slaves this year, there would be more work for the Colonization Society than ever before. Take an illustration.

In Virginia, are several thousand free blacks, but few of whom are proprietors of land, and the greater part are miserably poor, either for want of employment or disposition to labor. Several thousand slaves are annually sold from Virginia into other States, still leaving enough to perform the labor. Let the masters emancipate and hire their laborers, they will pursue the policy of the northern farmer, —hire the best workmen and as few of them as can do his work. As free men perform more labor than slaves, a much smaller number would be employed, and consequently, a large number would be thrown out of employment: these added to the thousands now annually sold from the state, and the other thousands previously free, would make up an immense surplus population unemployed, and unprovided for, which must have a vent somewhere. It would surely be a work of mercy to furnish a home in Africa for those who might desire it, and to oppose the Colonization Society, or prejudice the colored people against it, would be to them an act of extreme cruelty. But the *spirit and manner* of this opposition are peculiarly objectionable. Mr. Garrison's '*THOUGHTS*', of which '*a liberal purchase has been made by the Anti Slavery Society for gratuitous distribution*', abound in grievous charges and hard names.

"I am prepared to show that those who have entered into this *CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS*, are unanimous in abusing their victims: unanimous in their mode of attack: unanimous in proclaiming the absurdity that our free blacks are natives of Africa: unanimous in

* "I deem it to be my duty to express to you, at this time, my opinion, that to publish books, pamphlets, or newspapers, designed to be circulated here and in other States of the Union, and having a necessary tendency to excite in the minds of our citizens deadly hatred and hostility against their brethren of other States, and to stimulate the slave population of those States to rise against their masters, and to effect by fire and sword their emancipation, is an offence against this commonwealth, and that it may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor, at common law. It is said that pamphlets and papers of such character have been published in Boston and sent to the Southern States, and that they have caused great alarm and complaint there. It cannot be denied, that it is just cause both of alarm and complaint." *Charge of Judge Thacher to the Grand Jury of the County of Suffolk, in March, also in Dec. 1832.*

† *Thoughts*, p. 10. See also introduction to this work.

propagating the libel, that they cannot be elevated and improved in this country : unanimous in opposing their instruction : unanimous in apologizing for the crime of slavery, &c.* "It is a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage. It is a conspiracy based upon fear, oppression and falsehood, which draws its aliment from the prejudices of the people, which is sustained by duplicity, which really upholds the slave system, which fascinates while it destroys, which endangers the safety and happiness of the country, which no precept of the Bible can justify, which is implacable in its spirit, which should be annihilated at a blow.

"These are my accusations, and if I do not substantiate them, I am willing to be covered with reproach."†

"Ye crafty calculators : ye hard hearted incorrigible sinners ! ye greedy and relentless robbers ! ye contemners of justice and mercy ! ye trembling, pitiful, pale-faced usurpers ! my soul spurns you with unspeakable disgust."‡

"The Colonization Craft is a diabolical pursuit which *a great part of our Christian community are engaged in.*"†

"But to the awful disappointment of all such *blasphemers*, they will meet the justice of God, which will be to them a devouring sword."†

The report of the Society breathes much of the same spirit. After speaking of it as "not only a *burlesque upon moral enterprizes, but the acme of folly,*" the Managers say,

'The reason, too, which is given by the Colonization Society for this expulsion is monstrous ; and as often as it is urged in any of its reports, or its official organ, or by any of its itinerants, should fill the readers or hearers of the *base libel* with indignation. It is—that the American people are so incorrigibly vile, so lost to all sense of shame ; so far beyond repentance, so prescriptive in their feelings, so filled with all malice, prejudice and hate, that, to the latest generation, they will not cease to treat their free colored countrymen in the most tyrannous and dastardly manner, unless they are separated by a breadth of 4,000 miles. And in order to vindicate this *ugly spirit*, the Managers of the American Colonization Society in their last Annual Report utter this blasphemy,'&c §

With such a spirit, I cannot hold fellowship :—such weapons I cannot wield : especially against an institution embodying a great portion of the best men in the nation. With a Society that pursues such measures, I cannot co-operate.

2. The Anti Slavery Society does not give an account of its funds, or the manner of expending them.

The Annual report acknowledges donations from four individuals, and the Agent, in his Reports, published in the Liberator, speaks of taking contributions, without stating the amount. But we have no means of ascertaining the *amount* of funds during the last year. Why this omission? What was the amount of contributions taken by the Agent in Andover, Woburn, Belchertown, Springfield, Greenfield, and many other places in Massachusetts, Walpole and Keene, N. H. and other places which might be named? What is the amount of individual donations? and how have the funds been expended? We are indeed told that a 'liberal purchase' of Mr. Garrison's Thoughts has been made, and '5,000 copies of the Constitution and Address of the Society have been printed for gratuitous distribution,' and that Agents have been employed to urge the claims of the Society upon the charities and confidence of the people.|| But how much has it cost to make a 'liberal purchase' of a pamphlet of 236 pages—which the Methodist Quarterly Review pronounces "a publication ESSENTIALLY SLANDEROUS IN ALL ITS PARTS,"† and to circulate 5,000 copies of an address, one third of which is an attack upon the Col. Society? How much does it cost to enable the 'president' of the Society to travel and "urge its claims on the charities of the people," by telling them that "the object of the Colonization Society was to *banish* from our land the free people of color; that it has unvaryingly pursued this single object; that it still contemplates the entire banishment of 300,000 of the free citizens of the United States to the coast of Africa, by means which must be marked with great cruelty and suffering; that the *aroused* object to be obtained by their banishment is, increased security, permanency and profit to the slave system?"*** How large part of the funds has been expended to give "a wide and salutary check to the progress of the Colonization Society?"†† How much has been expended in abolishing slavery in "the emancipation of a young slave boy in Boston by a suit at law":†† and how much has been devoted to elevating the free colored people, and in what manner? These are subjects on which the citizens of New England need more light, before they can co-operate extensively with the Anti Slavery Society.

3. With its course of management thus far, the society is engaged in a hopeless enterprise.

* Thoughts, p. 10. † Ib. part II, p. 63. ‡ Ib. p. 64. From an Address before the colored population of Providence, R. I. Nov. 27, 1828. § Report, p. 23. || See Report, p. 42.

¶ Review of 'Thoughts on African Colonization' in the Methodist Magazine for Jan. 1833.

** Mr. Buifum's report of his lecture before the Roxbury Lyceum. †† Report, p. 42. †† Ib.

There is no good reason to expect the destruction of the Colonization Society by such measures. Notwithstanding the 'wide and salutary check to its progress,' it has accomplished almost twice as much during the last year as in any preceding one.

There is little prospect of convincing the American people by such means, that 'the Colonization Society *deceives and misleads the nation* ;' * that all who patronize it are miserably duped, or are too wicked to do right; that its Managers are guilty of 'blasphemy,' † or its Agents of *wantonlly promulgating gross fictions, EXPRESSLY TO DECEIVE.*' &c.‡ *mis-stating the principles and operations of the Col. Society, and gulling the ignorant and thoughtless into a support of a most nefarious scheme,* § or triumphing 'by a bold deception,' || or that the friends of Colonization are 'unanimous in abusing their victims,' " propagating libels," or " opposing the instruction of the colored people."

There is little hope of the *peaceful abolition* of slavery in this way. It is now several years since Mr. Garrison commenced his efforts, and the Southern people surely have not been ignorant of them. He was imprisoned in Maryland. The Legislature of Georgia has offered \$5000 for his apprehension, and the Committee of Vigilance of Charleston, S. C. offered \$1500 more. The Executive of Virginia, it is said, has taken public notice of him. All these circumstances are peculiarly fitted to give his efforts notoriety, add 'oil to the fire of his zeal' and excite sympathy among those who abhor slavery. Although the Society has existed but one year, the Managers say " *It has produced great results.*" " *It has done more to make slavery a subject of national investigation, to excite discussion, and to maintain the freedom of speech on a hitherto prohibited theme, than all other Societies now in operation.*" And it has *emancipated ONE YOUNG SLAVE IN BOSTON ! ! !*" *

While the Society has done *so much* to abolish slavery, the Report states, " within the last two years, the legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, and Tennessee have passed laws respecting the free colored and slave population of those States, which are in the highest degree atrocious." ††

It also exhorts abolitionists to bear meekly " the taunts and reproaches of half-way reformers, and temporizing gradualists, who accuse them of provoking slave holders to treat their slaves more rigorously than ever." ‡‡ For one, I despair of the *peaceful abolition* of slavery by *such measures as have been pursued*, whether I judge from their character or their actual results; §§ and finally, I despair of per-

* Garrison's Thoughts. † An. Rep. p. 23. ‡ Liberator, Feb. 2, 1833. § Ib. Dec. 29, 1832. †† Abolitionist, No. 1, page 7.

** SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT Dec. 4, 1832. Before SHAW, Chief Justice.

A *habeas corpus* was brought against Mrs. Howard, a lady who had resided in the Island of Cuba, in order to have the body of Francisco, a colored boy, 12 or 14 years of age, (whom it was alleged that the defendant intended to carry to the Island of Cuba, and there keep or sell as a slave,) brought before the Court.

The defendant, in her return to the *habeas corpus*, stated in writing, that the boy, *Francisco, was her servant*, that he *was free*, and that *she did not claim him as a slave.*" After hearing the evidence and arguments on both sides, and "after examining Francisco privately, and ascertaining that it was his desire to go with Mrs. Howard," Chief Justice Shaw gave an opinion of which the following is the conclusion. "The Court must act as the boy's guardian. He appears to be attached to Mrs. Howard, and to be desirous of going with her, and I think it is for his interest to do so, if he pleases. He can therefore go with her or not, as he chooses. And all persons will be prohibited from interfering by force to prevent him from going with her, if such continues his wish." —*Boston Atlas*, abridged. See Rep. p. 47. †† p. 13. ‡‡ Ib. p. 12.

§§ The advocates of this Society seem to have a peculiar fondness for proving the impracticability of Colonization by mathematical demonstration, and it may be proper here to borrow one of their illustrations. Its author as a preacher of the '*impartial doctrine*' will not surely object to it.

" While [one young slave has been liberated] in a year, 200 have been born to perpetual slavery in a day. Now, at this rate, how long would it take the [Anti Slavery] Society to remove slavery from the country? If [with the zealous efforts of Mr. Garrison for several years, the circulation of his paper and pamphlets, and the '*great results* of the Society during the past year, they have effected the emancipation of a young slave boy in Boston, by a suit at law, who *was already free and not claimed as a slave,*] how long will it require this society, to banish slavery from this free and happy land of liberty, where slaves are bought and sold as cattle?" —[Speech of Rev. Mr. Russell, of Watertown against the Colonization Society, delivered at the anniversary of the N. E. Anti Slavery Society. See Liberator, Jan 26, 1833.] " Truly, sir, this beats the fable of the frog jumping out of the well: for in this case the frog jumps up *two feet* every day, but falls back more than *three feet* every night. But to be serious, the project is impracticable." [Speech of Amasa Walker, Esq. at the same meeting. ib.] If these illustrations apply to the Colonization Society, they do with greater force apply to the Anti Slavery Society, especially when it is remembered that laws preventing emancipation, and oppressing the colored people have been passed in so many slave states, since the Liberator and similar publications have been in circulation.

suading the thinking and virtuous citizens of New England to co-operate with the Society when they understand its measures and its real bearings.

3. *The publications and measures of the Society are peculiarly fitted to create jealousy among the colored people in the free States—make them hostile to the whites—and thus prevent efforts for their improvement, or render such efforts unsuccessful.*

I see not how any one can deny this, after reading these publications, and the Resolutions and Addresses and remonstrances of the free colored people, and ascertaining that most of them have been called forth *within two years, or since the Liberator began to circulate among them.*

The spirit which breathes in many of these publications, if imbibed by the colored people, is fitted to make them suspicious and insolent, and thus to throw them out of employment, render them odious to the whites, and prevent efforts to improve them. And if the most prudent efforts were made for their improvement, while in a state of excitement and suspicion, the colored people would not profit by them.

4. The influence of such publications must be still more injurious to the free blacks in the slave states. It is sometimes said ‘We do not send these publications south of the Potomac.’ But it is certain that they sometimes find their way into the slave States, and their influence extends much farther than they are read. “*You must hold an active correspondence on the subject with your brethren all over the country, and conjure them all to stand firm.*” So says Mr. Garrison in relation to Colonization. It is natural that they should do so on other subjects as well as on this, and that they should circulate the writings of their abler advocates.

It is not strange that the colored people who come under such instructions should “look upon the Colonization Society as a peace disturbing combination:” that their orators should declare that the *Colonization craft* is a *DIABOLICAL* pursuit,† or that they should exhort their hearers in the following strain: “our forefathers fought, and bled, and died to achieve the independence of the United States. *Why should we forbear contending for the prize?* It becomes every colored citizen in the United States to step forward boldly and *GALLANTLY DEFEND HIS RIGHTS.*” [Extract from the Address of Mr. Peter Osborne to the people of color in the African church, New Haven, Ct. July 5, 1832. *Liberator, Dec. 1.*]

It is not strange that the colored people should be excited by such a process. Sentiments like the above, circulated among an ignorant population, are wonderfully fitted to produce excitement. It is easy to account for the numerous resolutions and remonstrances and addresses of the colored people published in Mr. Garrison’s Thoughts, and copied into the Annual Report of the Anti Slavery Society. And what must be the effect of such excitement, as it extends among the colored people in the slave states? Evidently to insure their more rigorous treatment—occasion laws forbidding their instruction†—requiring them to leave the State or give security for their good behaviour, and in various ways to render their condition more wretched. If there is danger that free blacks will be banished from this country, or from the slave States, that danger arises not from the measures of the Colonization Society, but from the influence of such instructions as are now circulated among portions of the colored people.

5. This process *increases the danger of insurrection—prevents the instruction of slaves—and throws obstacles in the way of emancipation, unless it is to be effected by force.* [See part I. p. 33, &c.] “A letter from a highly respectable and ardent friend of emancipation at Richmond, (Va.) says: nothing is more dreaded by the great mass of persons *opposed on principle* to slavery in this region, than such inflammatory publications as the *Liberator*. *They throw increased obstacles in the way of emancipation: and if they could have all the influence that seems to be aimed at, they would bring on a struggle that must result in the extermination of the blacks.* §

Another writer says:

“I consider the efforts and writings of Mr. Garrison as tending powerfully to excite in the free colored people deadly hostility to the whites—to occasion the

* Resolutions passed by a Convention of colored people. An. Report. p. 38.

† Address before the Colored people in Providence, R. I. by Rev Hosea Eastman. *Garrison’s Thoughts, part 2.* p. 64.

‡ It [the Colonization Society] does nothing to prevent the instruction of the blacks. That has been effected, as I believe, so far as legislation can do it, by Garrison’s paper and a pamphlet surreptitiously circulated about two years ago, said to be written by one Walker, in Boston. These occasioned laws by which our Sabbath and week day schools for free blacks, which were very beneficial to them, have been entirely put down.—*Letter of a friend of emancipation in Richmond, Va.* § Boston Transcript, Dec. 22. 1832.

more rigorous treatment of the slaves—endanger the safety of the South, and the union of the States."

These men are not Slave holders. They are Northern men, with Northern abhorrence of Slavery; who have resided for a few years at the South, and anxiously observed the influence of such publications and measures. The strictures of a late reviewer are worthy of serious consideration:

"The style which he employs—we beg his friends and advisers candidly to ponder this remark—is not the style to do good with. Satan cannot cast out Satan. Such wrath and railing, such recklessness and coarseness of vituperation, as fill his writings, may inflame, but cannot enlighten, may irritate, but cannot convince. We believe that cool and patient argument may do much, even with Slave holders; we are sure that 'sound and fury' can do nothing but mischief. We cannot doubt that the efforts of this writer, and his coadjutors, are disastrously delaying the arrival of that hour, when public sentiment, in the Slave holding states, shall turn with a rapid and irresistible tide against Slavery."^{*}

6. *If the publications and measures of the Society are sanctioned in the Northern States, they must necessarily increase the alienation between the North and South and powerfully tend to a dissolution of the Union.* These publications are peculiarly fitted to engender a spirit of bitterness and wrath against Slave holders, which unites its possessor for acting prudently or usefully in relation to Slavery. The unseemly epithets and charges, lavished indiscriminately upon the Southern people, by some of the readers and admirers of these publications, are revolting to every benevolent feeling. Should this spirit become prevalent at the North, or should the Southern people receive the impression that it is countenanced here, the consequences would be most disastrous. There is no necessity of long extracts to show that the publications are fitted to create this spirit. Witness the language applied to friends of Colonization as quoted in the second part of this pamphlet; and the epithets applied to Slave holders *without distinction* in the challenges noticed in the introduction.[†] Can such language and such a spirit, tolerated at the North, do ought but mischief? Will it not lead to disunion? This consideration probably will not avail much with those who agree with Mr. Garrison. Speaking of the Constitution of the United States, he says:

"We pronounce it the most bloody and heaven-daring arrangement ever made by men for the continuance and protection of a system of the most atrocious villainy ever exhibited on earth. Yes—we recognize the compact, but with feelings of shame and indignation; and it will be held in everlasting infamy by the friends of justice and humanity throughout the world. It was a compact formed at the sacrifice of the bodies and souls of millions of our race, for the sake of achieving a political object—an unblushing and monstrous coalition to do evil that good might come."—*Lib. Dec. 29, 1832.*

"It is said that if you agitate this question, [slavery] you will divide the Union. Believe it not; but should disunion follow, the fault will not be yours. You must perform your duty, faithfully, fearlessly and promptly, and leave the consequences to God: that duty clearly is, to cease from giving countenance and protection to southern kidnappers. Let them separate, if they can muster courage enough—and the liberation of their slaves is certain."—*Idem.*

With such sentiments and such measures, I am not prepared to co-operate.

7. The publications and measures of the Society produce unkind feelings, language and conduct among friends and neighbors in the free States, and are fitted to crush the spirit of benevolence, and destroy the confidence of men in all benevolent enterprises.

It would seem that Mr Garrison has a wonderful power to transform those who give his writings full credit, into his own image. The various news paper attacks on the Colonization Society, wherever they originate, breathe much the same spirit, and indicate either that the writers have been moulded by his influence, or that only those of a *certain temperament* embark in this opposition. How shall language like the following, and from a source so respectable, be explained without such a supposition?

"I know not how to express the emotions—disgust, sorrow, indignation—which this subject awakens within me. A foul conspiracy against the colored Ameri-

* Review of Thoughts on African Colonization, Christian Spectator, March 1833.

[†] Note to page 6, see also the following from a challenge signed by POLITICUS: "Every Slave holder who holds a public office in the United States, is guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury."—*Liberator* March 16, 1833.

The following is part of an article copied from the Boston Telegraph edited by Rev. Moses Thacher. The article is signed by "ONE WHO HAS RIGHTS" probably the same "Presbyterian Minister" whose challenge is referred to above.

"Every American Slave holder is the originator of Slavery: a Kidnapper, whose turpitude is more nefarious and criminal, than any of the human Flesh Traders who ever pirated on the coast of Africa!"

"I am prepared to demonstrate the truth of this text; &c."—*Lib. March 9, 1833.*

can seems to have been formed in this country ;—to slander him, revile him, tread him under foot.—*A tyger's skin is thrown upon him ; and then what a rush of men and dogs !**

Is this the spirit of the “beloved disciple”—is it the spirit of Christ? or is it the spirit of Mr. Garrison? Is it the style of the New Testament? or of the Liberator, which the writer calls “*Mr. Garrison's admirable paper ?†*”

Are not the challenges and communications of “ONE WHO HAS RIGHTS” and of “WATCHMAN” and “POLITICUS” legitimate fruits of the seed sown in the Liberator and other publications of Mr. Garrison? Many of the correspondents of the Liberator furnish abundant evidence of their sentiments having been “changed” or formed by his writings, if they had not frankly confessed it. Their communications, show in the language of Professor Wright, “That William Lloyd Garrison has come down upon [them] like a thunder bolt.”‡ But do such “thunderbolts” purify the moral atmosphere, and compose the warring elements in this day of excitement? Do men who are thus *thunderstruck* become better fitted to act right? —to do to others as they would that others should do to them? Do these men, as they become familiar with such writings, increase in their “long-suffering” and “gentleness” and “charity,” as well as their *zeal*? Judging from the nature of the human mind, or from an acquaintance with some who applaud these writings, I cannot resist the *painful conviction that the reverse is true*; that the more violent and boisterous passions are thereby nourished, the feelings of kindness and benevolence withered and lost in the *lightning* blaze of such *thunder-storms*. The same mode of attack, if leveled against any other benevolent enterprise, and pursued with similar *zeal*, would lead astray some minds, and if generally countenanced would prostrate the noblest charities of the age. Some have engaged in this opposition doubtless with the purest motives; but there are those in almost every community who are glad of an apology for opposing a benevolent society. Some of this class are unquestionably joining heartily in this opposition, in the hope that they shall soon stand upon the ruins of the Colonization Society, and attack successfully other societies, which now seem less vulnerable. The spirit of this opposition is the spirit of radicalism; a spirit with which I have no fellowship.

S. Another reason why I cannot co-operate with this Society, is, that *the managers are furnishing British Editors and Reviewers with the most rare materials for slandering this Country.*

I do not suppose they *intend* this—they may not have considered the use which will be made of their efforts. They have sent letters and publications to benevolent individuals, and enlisted their efforts in opposing the Colonization Society, in order to prevent Mr. Cresson from collecting funds in England. Perhaps this was all they at first intended. But it is known that *there are those in Great Britain* who have a keen relish for the writings of such travellers as Capt. Hall and Madam Trollope, and are disposed to seize every opportunity for saying hard things of the American people. Neither of these writers have furnished more precious morsels for such a taste, than are to be found in the ‘Liberator’ and ‘Thoughts on African Colonization.’ Some in England are doubtless very glad of these materials *at this time*. A spirit of Commercial enterprise is exploring with eager expectation the regions opened in Africa by the discovery of the Landers, and the American Colony at Liberia occupies a territory which would be very convenient for the use of British capitalists, engaged in African commerce. And besides, this Colony is becoming no mean rival of Sierra Leone. It is introducing republican principles and American institutions and enterprise into that Continent, in a manner which is not fitted to secure the special favor of those who hold us and our institutions in contempt. These considerations will lessen to some extent, the importance of British opinions in relation to the American Colonization Society. Allowing that Capt. Stuart, and James Cropper, and Joseph Phillips are actuated by the purest motives in opposing this Society, the people of New England will not think their opinions entirely conclusive, when it is known that they are based upon Mr. Garrison’s writings.¶ Capt. Stuart has written two pamphlets, which

* Letter of Professor Beriah Green of the Western Reserve College, Genius of Temperance March 29. † Lib. Jan. 1833. ‡ Genius of Temperance Vol. 3, No. 41.

§ “Your letter—Thoughts—and Liberator have furnished abundant materials for Capt. Stuart to write another Pamphlet on the subject of the Colonization Society. It will be printed at James Cropper’s expense and distributed throughout England. IF THIS DOES NOT DRIVE ELLIOT CRESSON OUT OF ENGLAND, WE SHALL, IF NECESSARY, FORM A SOCIETY.”—Letter of Joseph Phillips to Mr. Garrison. Lib. Dec. 15, 1832.

have been widely circulated, and reviewed by several English papers. The Mechanics Magazine in an article, headed "*Negro Colony of Liberia*," says: "This self-styled 'philanthropic' undertaking turns out to be a mere delusion." The Liverpool Mercury has expressed similar views.

The Eclectic Review has also published an extended notice of Mr. Garrison's "Thoughts" and Capt. Stuart's pamphlet. It is to be regretted that this work, which has usually exhibited so much candor in its notices of American Institutions, should have been misled on this subject by the publications referred to, or by the zeal of those gentlemen engaged in circulating them in England. James Cropper, at whose expense Capt. Stuart's pamphlet was printed, speaks of the Colonization Society as "*That most abominable ATTEMPT TO PERPETUATE SLAVERY*"* and "*a scheme, the most DIABOLICAL that ever entered into the heart of man to devise.*"* Joseph Phillips calls it "*that SATANIC and DIABOLICAL COMBINATION and CONSPIRACY against that most interesting portion of the population of the United States.*"* Such sentiments from active friends of abolition in England, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society is aiding to circulate both in that country and in this. It cannot be urged that this is the work of some rash individuals, for whose conduct the Society is not responsible. It is the work of the founders of the Society. The Managers have now "appointed Wm. LLOYD GARRISON as their Agent," and he is about to sail for England *under their direction*, "for the purpose of procuring funds to aid in the establishment of the proposed Manual Labor School for colored youth, and of disseminating in that country THE TRUTH (?) in relation to American Slavey, and its ALLY, the American Colonization Society"†

As a lover of my country I cannot desire to see her thus represented in Great Britain. If by "*disseminating the truth in relation to the Colonization Society*," is meant the repetition of such charges as have already been sent there in his "THOUGHTS" and "LIBERATOR," the sentence should read "*disseminating materials which will aid British Reviewers and Editors in vilifying the people of the United States.*"

If the Managers of this Society would pursue such measures for the instruction and elevation of the free colored people as are fitted to accomplish that object, instead of filling their minds with jealousy and bitterness,—if they would cease their violent opposition to those who are endeavoring to do them good in another manner, there would be no need of sending to England for funds to establish a "Manual Labor School." Friends of Colonization generally in New England, would unquestionably, be forward in this enterprise, but for objections such as have been referred to. If these objections are not real, if they do not justify the people of New-England in their unwillingness to co-operate with the Anti-Slavery Society in efforts for African improvement, it is hoped that the Managers of that Society will obviate them. Let them show that their *course of measures* will in the best manner benefit the African race, bond and free; that all their *means and measures* are "*sanc*t*ioned by law, humanity and religion;*" and there is no individual who will more cheerfully lend them his feeble assistance than

A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

* Lib. Dec. 15, 1832.

† Lib. March 9, 1833.

ERRATUM.—Page 21, second line from the bottom, for G. W. P. Curtis read G. W. P. Custis.

THE COLONIZATIONIST,
AND
JOURNAL OF FREEDOM.

A PUBLICATION with the above title has been commenced in Boston by GEORGE W. LIGHT, & Co. The first number has just appeared from the press, and does credit to the enterprizing publishers. The Prospectus and the first article, explain the course the publishers intend to pursue, and deserve the attention of the friends of "LIBERTY AND THE UNION." The writer has two reasons for noticing it in this place.

1. *A conviction that such a work is needed in New England.*
2. *A confidence that if properly sustained, the publishers will make it what is needed.*

A CITIZEN OF NEW ENGLAND.

The above work is published in monthly numbers of 32 pages each, at *two dollars per annum*. Persons becoming responsible for five copies, will receive a sixth gratis. Subscriptions received at the office of the Vermont Chronicle.



